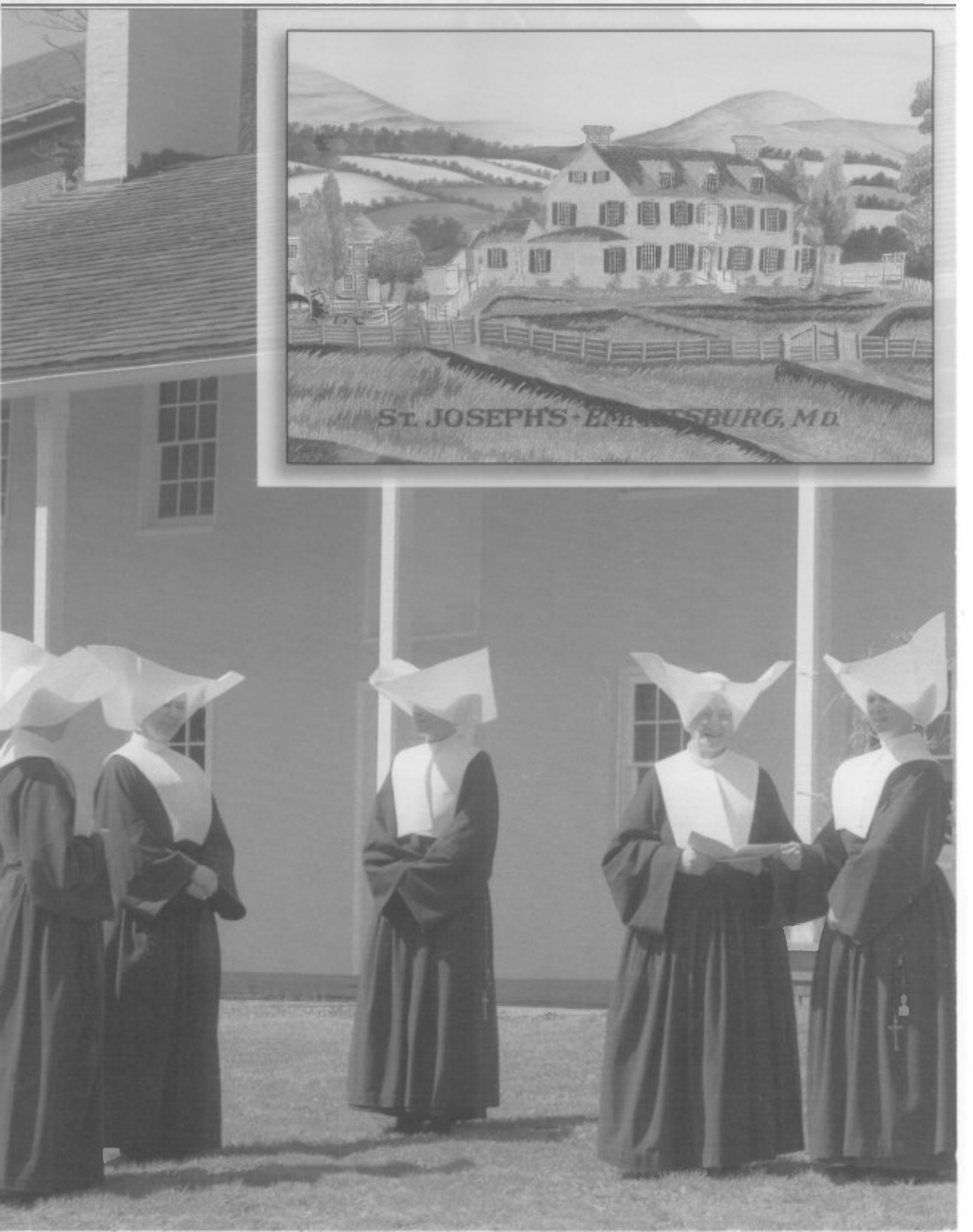
MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

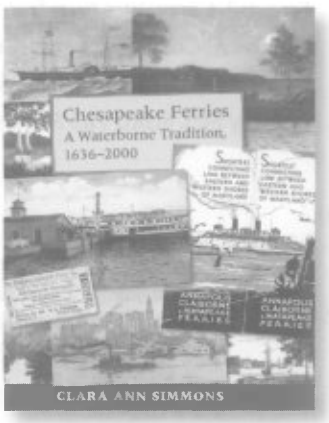
Summer 2009



Chesapeake Ferries

A Waterborne Tradition, 1636–2000

By Clara Ann Simmons



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Clara Ann Simmons moved to Maryland's Eastern Shore more than fifty years ago and marveled at this land of rivers and creeks and bays. A journalist by profession, she became fascinated with water travel in the Chesapeake region, that intricate network of connections "that set the traveler on his way so that he might continue his journey."

Thus opens an engaging and gracefully written narrative that takes the reader from the earliest days of colonial settlement when all who journeyed through the region crossed the waterways, to the age of bridge building that changed forever the way people reach their destinations.

Beautifully illustrated with dozens of photographs and maps, *Chesapeake Ferries* is a tribute to the region's maritime past.

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Cover: Daughters of Charity, 1959 / inset, Mary Jenkins sampler, 1823
In late June 1809, Elizabeth Bayley Seton (1774–1821) arrived in Emmitsburg with four companions and the funding to open a free Catholic school for girls. Several weeks later she founded the Sisters of Charity of St. Joseph. Originally intended as a day school for poor children, local economic difficulties quickly transformed Seton's institution into a boarding school. This small nineteenth-century community of women religious became the nucleus of the American Sisters of Charity, now celebrating the bicentennial of Seton's arrival in Frederick County and the establishment of her school. (Maryland Historical Society/ Daughters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Md.)

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* welcomes submissions from authors and letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space and clarity. All articles will be acknowledged, but only those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope will be returned. Submissions should be printed or typed manuscript. Address Editor, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201. Include name, address, and daytime telephone number. Once accepted, articles should be on CDS (MS Word or PC convertible format), or may be emailed to panderson@mdhs.org. The guidelines for contributors are available on our website at www.mdhs.org.

A MAP of
MARYLAND
with the
DELAWARE
COUNTIES
and the
Southern Part of
NEW JERSEY
&c.
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PENSILVA
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VIRGINIA
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Standing Stone
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Shippensburg
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Shanedore R.
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Port Tobacco
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Fredericksburg
P. Royal
Laytons
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Williamsburg

Separating Myth from History: The Maryland Riflemen in the War of Independence

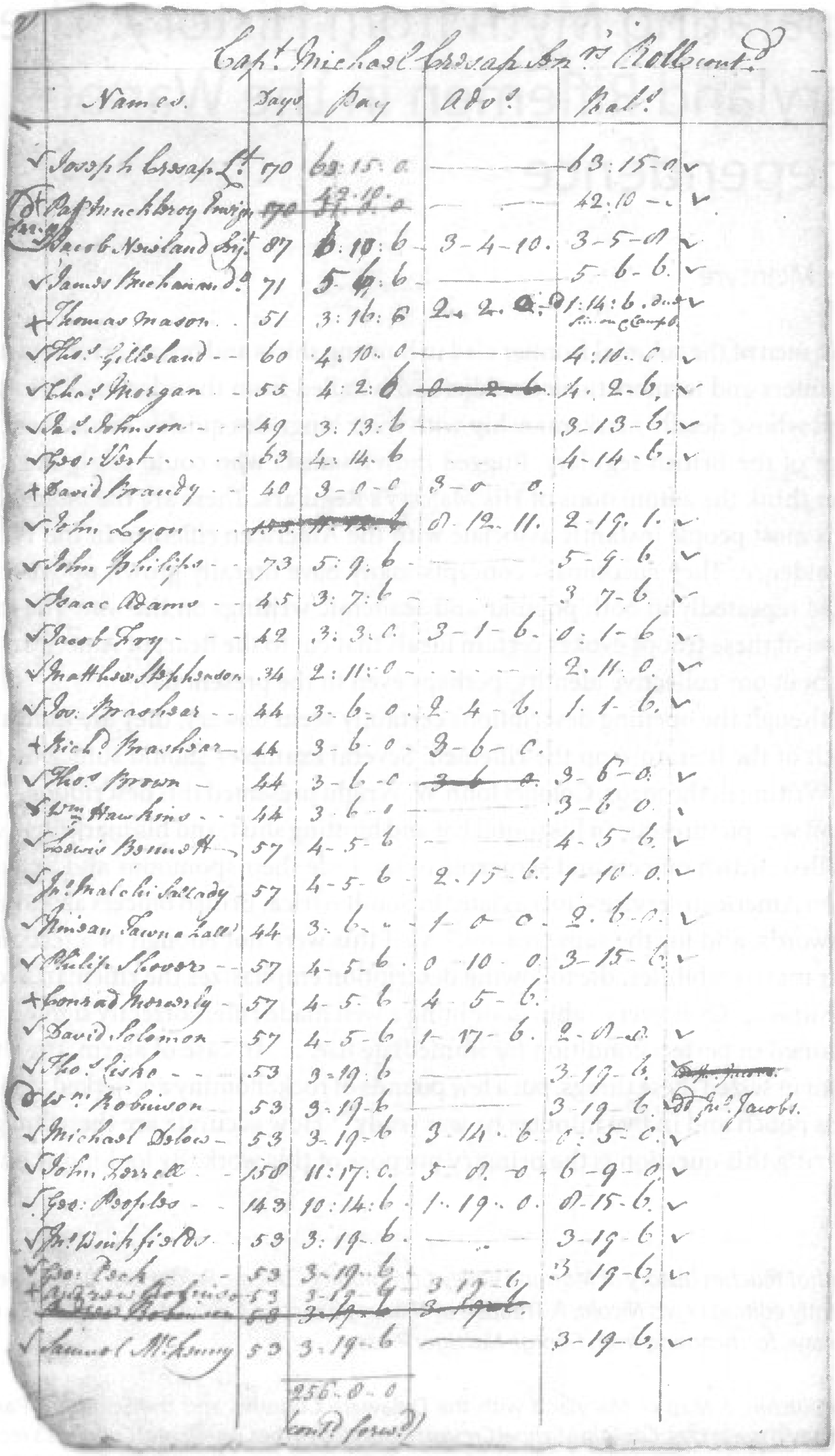
James McIntyre

Lean men of the colonial frontier clad in hunting shirts and broad-brimmed hats. Hunters and farmers turned soldiers who hailed from the edge of civilization and whose deadly marksmanship with their longrifles quickly made them the scourge of the British regulars. Rugged individualists **who** could easily out fight and out think the automatons of His Majesty's Regulars. These are the images and notions most people instantly associate with the American riflemen in the War of Independence. They encompass concepts many have literally grown up with, reinforced repeatedly in both popular and academic writings on the war. The mere mention of these troops evokes certain ideals that cut to the heart of American notions about our collective identity, perhaps even to the present day.

Although the opening descriptions certainly seem flowery, they are indicative of much of the literature on the riflemen. Several examples should suffice on this point. Writing in the 1920s, Colonel John W. Wright presented this description, "The rifleman was picturesque in his round hat and hunting shirt, and his marksmanship compelled British officers and sergeants to lay aside their spontoons and halberds while on American service—just as later in South Africa, British officers abandoned their swords, and for the same reason." As if this were not enough of a testament to their martial abilities, the following description emphasizes the rifleman's combat readiness. "Over every cabin door hung a well made rifle, correctly sighted and maintained in perfect condition for immediate use. . . . In case of alarm, the backwoodsman seized these things, put a few pounds of rockahominy and jerked venison into his pouch and in five minutes he was ready."[1] How accurate are these images? Answering this question is the primary purpose of this work. By looking at one of

The author teaches history at Moraine Valley Community College, Palos Hills, Illinois. He is currently editing Lewis Nicola, A Treatise of Military Exercise Calculated for the Use of Americans, *forthcoming from George Nafziger Press.*

Thomas Kitchin, A Map of Maryland with the Delaware Counties and the Southern Part of New Jersey, 1757. *In 1775, Captain Michael Cresap responded to the Continental Congress's recruitment call and led 140 Western Maryland riflemen to Boston where they joined General George Washington's troops.*



Capt. Michael Cresap's Rollcontd

Names	Days	Pay	Advd.	Ball.
√ Joseph Cresap Lt.	170	63:15:0	—	63:15-0 √
+ Pat Muchkroy Ensign	170	42:10:0	—	42:10 - √
Jacob Newland Sgt.	87	6:10:6	3-4-10.	3-5-0 √
√ James Buchanan do.	71	5:6:6	—	5-6-6. √
+ Thomas Mason	51	3:16:6	2. 2. 0.	1:14:6 [illegible] √
√ Thos. Gilleland	60	4:10:0	—	4:10:0 √
√ Chas. Morgan	55	4:2:6	~~0-2-6~~	4-2-6. √
√ Jas. Johnson	49	3:13:6	—	3-13-6. √
√ Geo: Vert	63	4:14:6		4-14-6. √
+ David Brandy	40	3-0-0	3-0 0.	
√ John Lyon	~~[illegible]~~		0-12-11.	2-19-1. √
√ John Philips	73	5:9:6	—	5-9-6 √
√ Isaac Adams	45	3:7:6	—	3 7-6. √
√ Jacob Fry	42	3:3:0	3-1-6.	0:1-6 √
√ Matthew Stephenson	34	2:11:0	—	2.11.0. √
√ Jos. Brashear	44	3-6-0	2-4-6.	1.1-6. √
+ Richd. Brashear	44	3-6-0	3-6-0.	
√ Thos. Brown	44	3-6-0	~~3-6-0~~	3-6-0. √
√ Wm. Hawkins	44	3-6-0	—	3-6-0.
√ Lewis Bennett	57	4-5-6	—	4-5-6. √
√ Jno. Malchi Salady	57	4-5-6	2.15-6.	1-10-0. √
√ Ninian Tawnahall	44	3-6-	1-0-0.	2-6-0. √
√ Philip Shover	57	4-5-6	0-10-0.	3-15-6. √
+ Conrad Moravely	57	4-5-6	4-5-6.	
√ David Solomon	57	4-5-6	1-17-6.	2-0-0. √
√ Thos. Lisko	53	3-19-6	—	3-19-6. [illegible]
Wm. Robinson	53	3-19-6		3-19-6. do. Jno. Jacobs.
√ Michael Dolow	53	3-19-6	3-14-6.	0:5-0. √
√ John Lorrell	158	11:17:0.	5-0-0.	6-9-0. √
√ Geo: Peoples	143	10:14:6	1-19-0.	0-15-6. √
√ Jno. Whitfields	53	3:19-6	—	3-19-6 √
√ Geo: Peck	53	3-19-6		3-19-6. √
+ Andrew Robinson	53	3-19-6	3-19-6	
~~Andrew Robinson~~	~~53~~	~~3-19-6~~	~~3-19-6~~	
√ Samuel McKenny	53	3-19-6	—	3-19-6. √
		256-0-0		
		contd. forwd.		

Payroll sheet, Michael Cresap's rifle company, October 6, 1775. (Maryland Historical Society.)

the rifle companies recruited in the western portions of Maryland in 1775, specifically that of Captain Michael Cresap, it seeks to separate myth from reality.[2]

Cresap's company serves as a particularly good historical test group for several reasons. First, they were among the earliest companies actually recruited after the Continental Congress sent the call for troops. Second, the unit had a fairly compact history. Cresap died in October 1775, and leadership of his men passed to Captain Moses Rawlings.[3] The company command changed, creating a logical break as each commander imparted a certain culture to the unit. When command changed, therefore, it could certainly have a profound impact on the daily lives of the men. Thus, Cresap's death provides a useful point at which to break off the inquiry. Third, the company left some very useful records from which to gain an understanding of the men and, perhaps equally as important, who they sought to be—how they hoped both their contemporaries and posterity would perceive them. In many instances, these perceptions, over time, supplanted the realities of the riflemen. This unrealistic perception developed most particularly in the minds of the Continental Army leadership. Many of the top commanders at the American camp in Cambridge, Massachusetts, such as George Washington and Charles Lee initially initially saw the riflemen as partisans, men who would rapidly defeat the King's troops and end the conflict in short order. In reality, the hopeful perceptions of the riflemen's contributions to independence dimmed 1778 when the light infantry replaced the Continental Army's corps of riflemen.

Unfortunately, the records concerning the basic make-up of Cresap's company remain woefully incomplete. In areas where the documentation on his particular company is markedly thin the records of other rifle companies offer an understanding of the troops' general experiences during the early months of the war. Although each unit certainly possessed its own local proclivities that contributed to the group's character, all shared some fundamental commonalities and this allows reconstruction of an overall portrait of Cresap's Maryland Rifle Company. The story that emerges from this study indicates that the riflemen possessed a much more colorful image as new recruits, one that grew around the rifle companies in general during this period and remains the one most commonly associated with these troops and their role in the War of Independence. The realities of recruiting the company, then, form the appropriate place to begin untangling the fact from the fiction.

Cresap's Maryland Rifle Company began its existence as a result of the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and its North American colonies with the skirmishes at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. The Continental Congress had returned to session in Philadelphia in May and soon sent out a recruiting call for a total of ten companies of "expert riflemen," including two from Maryland, six from Pennsylvania, and the remaining two from Virginia.[4] Why did Congress specifically seek the riflemen and why did they want men from these specific areas? The weapon for whom these men were named offers the answer.[5]

The Pennsylvania longrifle is often hailed as the first truly American invention, and consequently the majority of the rifle units originated in that colony, the center of manufacture for the weapon at the time. The history of the development of the rifle is a separate, but related, topic. Most sources agree that German immigrants brought the *Jaeger* rifle to the Lancaster area of Pennsylvania between 1700 and 1720. Over time, gunsmiths modified the design with longer and narrower barrels thus creating a lighter, more accurate though smaller caliber weapon, commonly known as the Pennsylvania and later Kentucky or American rifle.[6] Martin Meylin, the first credited manufacturer of the Pennsylvania rifle, lived and worked in the Pequea Valley of southern Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Soon, this new hybrid weapon, at once frugal of powder and excellent in range and accuracy grew into a mainstay of frontier settlement.[7]

As fresh waves of immigrants entered the Quaker colony, many began to migrate south from Pennsylvania down the great wagon road. These explorers and settlers carried their rifles with them. Often, journeyman rifle-smiths in search of an opportunity to set up shops of their own followed this customer base and by the outbreak of hostilities between the Crown and its North American colonies, the longrifle could be found on the frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. At the same time, the weapon had proliferated as far south as the Carolinas and Georgia.[8] Yet the colonies where the longrifle had been an integral component of frontier life still counted the largest group of men familiar with the weapon's capabilities—and these are the regions to which Congress directed their request for expert troops in May 1775. Additionally, these men lived close enough that troops from these areas could be raised quickly and sent toward Boston in the event the British should attempt to break out of the besieged city. Finally, one additional reason worked in favor of recruiting riflemen from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. These three colonies, although close to Boston, lay outside of New England, and the companies raised could work to solidify broad support for the rebellion.

As news of the call reached the respective colonies, the governments in each initiated the process of assigning officers and setting conditions of recruitment, much of which followed congressional directives.[9] In fact, the only difference was in the actual method each colony used to raise the men. It appears that in practice local preference determined recruitment procedures. For example, some colonies chose the officers and then instructed them to go out and raise their companies while other colonies permitted the troops, once raised, to elect their own officers.[10]

The task of raising the Maryland companies first fell to the Frederick County Committee of Observation. At their meeting on June 21, 1775, after reading the call from Congress in Philadelphia, the committee resolved to raise the two companies requested. The command of the first went to Michael Cresap, who was absent at the time, while the committee appointed Thomas Price to the command of the second. It is worth mentioning that among the lieutenants in the second company

was Otho Holland Williams, who later rose to some fame as a commander during the southern campaigns.[11]

On Michael Cresap's appointment to command the first company his father, Thomas Cresap, lobbied the members of the Frederick County Committee to secure the post for his son. These sought after appointments carried marks of distinction among local leaders, and the community knew both men as capable frontier fighters.[12] Thomas's reputation dated back at least to the French and Indian War during which he led a unit of rangers. A report in the *Philadelphia Gazette* for June 24, 1756, had these men receiving a reward of $130 dollars for an Indian scalp, and departing again on another patrol. In addition, during the border dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland over the western areas of the colonies, the elder Cresap earned such a reputation for intimidation among the Pennsylvania settlers that they christened him the "Maryland Monster." A letter from Silas Deane to his wife, dated June 29, 1775, mentions the odd set of circumstances surrounding the captaincy: "A commission is given to one Cresop to command from Virginia. He being absent when it Arrived, his Father the brave old Colonel Cresop . . . took the Command." In addition, Deane asserted, the father had vowed to lead the men to Cambridge himself if his son did not arrive "in Season."[13] The father's reputation as an intrepid leader apparently remained intact.

Michael's reputation, on the other hand, began in earnest the previous year as a result of the conflict known as Lord Dunmore's War, a conflict that his contemporaries sometimes accused him of starting. The charge revolved around Cresap's alleged murder of several peaceful Indians and has generated controversy since the time of the episode.[14] What is known about Michael Cresap's involvement in Dunmore's War is that he served under Daniel Morgan in a unit of riflemen engaged in prosecuting the colonial military effort in the hinterlands.[15]

By 1775, however, this conflict with the Indians had already ended, and the frontier in the area that would later become Kentucky occupied Michael's attention more than the imperial politics on the seaboard. Although the imperial relationship with Great Britain unraveled to the point of a complete breach, Cresap, like many of his contemporaries engaged heavily in land speculation. He likewise spent much of his time establishing settlements on the tracts he claimed. These settlements held great importance in that they served to solidify a contested claim to certain tracts of land.[16] As soon as he received word of his commission, however, Cresap, then thirty-three, returned from the frontier. He began recruiting men to fill out the complement for his company as he made his way east.

Geographically, most of the men in Cresap's unit came from two localities considered frontier regions by their contemporaries. For the purposes of the present inquiry, the frontier will be defined as the edge of settlement, an area of lawlessness, or simply one without government. In addition, contacts between white settlers and Native Americans stood as a common occurrence.[17] Twenty-two of Cresap's volun-

teers came from the area west of Cumberland, Maryland, in the vicinity of Redstone Fort, and were the first to serve that hailed from west of the Allegheny Mountains. More than one hundred additional men came from Shawnee Old Town, on the upper Potomac, where Michael Cresap resided when not developing new settlements.[18] Thus the majority of the men who joined Cresap's company were his neighbors and to some extent recruitment depended on the reputation of their commander. Cresap's activities during Lord Dunmore's war had earned him respect as an Indian fighter and likely attracted his peers. In addition, it is highly probable that some of his father's reputation, through association, aided his recruiting efforts. Regardless, his company, as did many others, quickly filled its complement.[19]

Once recruited, the company began their march to Boston, a distance of nearly 560 miles. The men encountered diversions and, in fact, made a number of stops along the way. One of the first stops came at Elizabethtown (now Hagerstown), Maryland, in order to pick up thirty-three rifles for which they later placed a claim of twenty-four and a half dollars.[20] These accounts demonstrate that some of the men did not carry their own weapons. There are a number of explanations for this lack of such an essential piece of military equipment. First and foremost, the monetary value of the rifle represented a sizeable investment on the part of the buyer. If the recruit were a younger son of the family, as was often the case, they did not yet possess their own firearm.[21] Nor could they take their family's rifle, as those who remained at home would need it for hunting and defense. Although specific data on the men of Cresap's company are sorely lacking, it is possible to reconstruct, based on other sources, a composite of sorts, of the type of men who formed this unit.[22]

The majority hailed from an area in transition from wilderness to settlement. Likewise, they were probably young and unmarried and thus could be spared from the family farm for a longer duration than the head of the household. Many of them may also have been younger sons and as such the composition resembled rifle companies recruited in Pennsylvania.[23] Additionally, they likely held the masculine values Gregory T. Knouff described as applying to the "lower sort," among them a fondness for strong drink and an appreciation of martial prowess, particularly brawls (later demonstrated in camp outside of Cambridge). Stories and descriptions of feats of strength and physical ability were quite popular among the men as well. These men held values similar to those of their counterparts in the Royal Navy, the so-called Jack Tars. Even the dress of the riflemen came to be associated with a certain form of masculinity. As Kate Haulman pointed out, "Hunting shirts suggested frontier savvy, expert marksmanship, and homespun simplicity."[24]

These frontiersmen in their homespun uniforms felt drawn into the colonial conflict with the home government for a number of reasons. For many, the motivation to take up arms rested in the reality that they would be protecting their communities from the pressure of overpopulation, much of it generated by imperial policy. They could work actively through a medium they understood well—force—

and alter that same imperial policy. Specifically, repeal of the Proclamation of 1763 that had closed the frontier to further expansion, would, in turn lead to increased opportunities for greater prosperity for these men and their families. If they were unmarried as yet, then the idea of opening the frontier also held the chance of staking a claim and gaining the financial base in order to support a domestic life. The most recent study of the motivations affecting those on the frontier in their decisions regarding which side to support lists land as a major factor.[25] At the same time, the notion of an outside force whose legitimacy they did not recognize imposing its will upon them likely galled these men deeply. It seems highly probable that the motivations for joining Captain Cresap's Company encompassed a blend of the aforementioned factors.[26]

Regardless of the men's motives for taking up arms, the march to Boston, while certainly a long and arduous effort, afforded the newly-minted soldiers of Cresap's Company the opportunity to travel through regions they had more than likely never seen before. Residents of more settled localities saw firsthand these rugged frontier fighters. One anonymous author has left the following remarkable account of the men's march through his Fredericktown, Maryland in a letter to a gentleman in Philadelphia.[27]

> I have had the happiness of seeing Captain *Michael Cresap* marching at the head of a formidable Company of upwards of 130 men, from the mountains and backwoods, painted like Indians, armed with tomahawks and rifles and dressed in hunting shirts and moccasins, and though some of them had traveled near eight hundred miles from the banks of Ohio, they seemed to walk light and easy and not with less spirit than at the first hour of their march.[28]

This writer, obviously fascinated, recorded a myth-like impression of the men in Cresap's company, exaggerating certain facets of their appearance and their physical endurance. Likewise, parts of the description are, in themselves, intriguing. The use of paint, if true, suggests cultural transference occurring between the frontiersmen and their Native American foes.[29] Although the use of Native American tactics and dress are well documented in relation to some European Americans living on the frontier, the application of paint would bring these practices to an entirely new level. One historian of the riflemen suggests that much of the appearance may have been done for show.[30] By making themselves appear much like their foes, the men added to their martial perception in the eyes the crowds, particularly those further away from the frontier.

The writer then saluted the company's physical prowess—that the men could walk some eight hundred miles and step lightly, rather than trudge in exhaustion. Physical endurance of this variety agrees with the ideal of masculinity already set

out above. At the same time, the account suggests that these attributes are, in themselves, something worthy of emulation and goes on to question what an enemy could do to withstand these troops and to embellish on the already impressive portrait of the men's physical stamina.[31] In reality, the actual distance from the Ohio Valley was little more than one hundred miles at the most and not the 800 that the author reports, offsetting the image of the archetypes of frontier strength and fortitude gleaned in this account.[32] Onlookers endowed these men with yet another quality, native courage. Others who witnessed the passing of the men of Cresap's Company saw this quality as well, articulated in the following abstract from a letter written after the company's march through Fredericktown, Maryland, dated July 19, 1775. This chronicler singled out Cresap in particular for praise:

> Capt. Cresap, also, with his brave company, have marched. I need not say anything of Captain Cresap's undaunted courage; not an *American* but knows him to be an intrepid warriour, and of course he known [sic] his men, and has culled them from many.[33]

Note the connection, very explicit, between courage and identity. All Americans know Captain Cresap for his "undaunted courage," a martial quality. Here once more is the generation of a connection between martial prowess and a nascent American identity.

Occasions such as the one documented below certainly support the evidence. The following demonstration took place in Fredericktown, but Cresap and his men repeated the performance at several other locations on the march to Boston. Still, for a show, it stood as a spectacle worth observing, as the following account illuminates:

> Yesterday the Company were supplied with a small quantity of powder from the magazine, which wanted airing, and was not good for rifles; in the evening, however, they were drawn out to show the gentlemen of the town their dexterity at shooting. A clap board, with a mark the size of a dollar, was put up; they began to fire at it off hand, and the by-standers were surprised, few shots being made that were not close to or in the paper. When they had shot for a time in this way, some lay on their backs, some on their breast or side, others ran twenty or thirty steps, and firing, appeared equally too certain of the mark. With this performance the company were more than satisfied, when a young man took up a board in his hand, not by the end, but by the side, and holding it up, his brother walked to the distance, and very cooly shot into the white; laying down his rifle, he took the board, and holding it as it was held before, the second brother shot as the former had done. By this exercise I was more astonished than pleased.[34]

Such a display of shooting ability doubtlessly left many of the witnesses "more astonished than pleased." What distinguishes the above display of marksmanship is the fact, as the witness stated at the outset, that they used powder considered inadequate for use in rifles. Their success with the faulty powder generates the idea that those skilled men could compensate for poor quality supplies. Again, the image bolsters a construction of the martial abilities that borders on the supernatural.

Further elaborating on their prowess, the men did not aim directly at the target but shot "off hand," firing from the side with their weapons held so that the left elbow locked against the body. Essentially, it would appear to the assembled crowd that the men fired in a leisurely fashion, aimed effortlessly at the target, and still accomplished masterful shots. Likely, the men who performed these feats had some practice and the same company members probably carried out the fancy shooting show at each stop. Even if the same men executed these ostentatious tricks over and over again, they did perform them—leaving their audience awestruck in the process. In doing so, the riflemen expanded upon an already existing impression of their skills, one that stemmed from frontier shooting contests. In its own way, the event described above had much in common with these competitions in that these impromptu occasions allowed the men the opportunity to test their shooting skills against those of their neighbors.[35] Even if they did not repeat the demonstration at every stop along the way, the Whig press carried descriptions of these elaborate displays of marksmanship that certainly translated into a powerful form of anti-ministerial propaganda.

By the same token, the propaganda aspects with descriptions of physical endurance brought a parting harangue from a Fredericktown citizen who asked "What would a regular army of considerable strength in the forests of *America* do with one thousand of these men?"[36] He went on to describe them as men "who want nothing for their health and courage but water from the spring, with a little parched corn, with what they can easily procure in hunting."[37] Furthermore, they would prefer to wrap themselves in nothing more than their blankets and "would choose the shade of a tree for their covering, and the earth for their bed."[38] Men who could perform masterful feats of target shooting with poor quality powder required no protections from the elements. Soldiers such as these would have constituted a truly intimidating force. The reality of the riflemen's abilities under combat situations is discussed below. First, however, it is important to examine the purpose of these demonstrations, beyond allowing some of the men of Cresap's company the opportunity to display their shooting acumen.

These demonstrations, and the crowds of onlookers they drew, created a propaganda opportunity and also filled a pragmatic purpose in that they attracted large numbers of men from the host communities. The spring and summer of 1775 stood as the highpoint of what historian Charles Royster described as the *rage militaire*, the year that intense support for the war effort erupted, coupled with a strong sense

of American martial ability. Interestingly, Royster notes that part of the *rage militaire* manifested in a fondness for riflemen on the part of American Whigs.[39] This period of martial ardor may also have prompted town residents to feed the company. Evidence of similar activity exists in the diary of Henry Bedinger who served with one of the Virginia rifle companies and described an occasion on which the men were "Met by a number of Men and Women out of the Country who brought us churns of Beer, Cyder [sic] and Buttermilk, apples, sherries, etc."[40] This would, in turn, provide the men with some much needed relief from daily chores necessary for survival in a time when most meals were prepared from scratch, therefore allowing them time to recuperate in order to march the next day. In addition, precedent among other rifle companies on their march to Boston establishes the notion that the men of the companies were billeted in the houses of the towns where they stopped. Thus, these demonstrations, then, constituted a show in return for hospitality, singing for their supper, bolstered by the fact that the men possessed only one wagon, enough to carry some additional supplies but not tents and provisions for the entire company.[41]

It is unclear whether the men continued the demonstrations described above as they proceeded into New York and farther north. So far, research has yielded no additional accounts of those sorts of activities once the men marched out of Pennsylvania. It is clear, however, that Cresap's unit, though not the first to arrive outside of Boston, was among the earlier units to reach its destination. They arrived in camp on August 27. Although Cresap's Company does not hold the title of marching the fastest, they do take the laurels for having marched the furthest—a total distance of 560 miles.[42]

Beyond the martial displays that Cresap's company presented, and the accompanying propaganda, the accounts also include a rare glimpse of the captain's command style. The following is an additional excerpt from one of the reports covering the company's trek to Cambridge:

> I had an opportunity of attending the captain during his stay in town, and watched the behavior of his men, and the manner in which he treated them; for it seems that all who go out to war under him do not only pay the most willing obedience to him as their commander, but in every instance of distress look up to him as their friend and father. A great part of his time was spent in listening to [and] relieving their wants without any apparent sense of fatigue and trouble. When complaints were before him he determined with kindness and spirit, and on every occasion condescended to please without loosing [sic] dignity.[43]

Although this observation does not constitute a glowing encomium to the unit's commander, it does present a portrait of a solid company officer whose style

ultimately determined his success as commander of an all-volunteer force of his peers. Patience and equanimity were key attributes in effectively preserving the unit through its journey to Massachusetts and in making it an effective fighting force once there.

In their camp outside of Boston, the men of Cresap's company, like the members of many of the other rifle companies, probably became bored rather quickly. A siege would have held nowhere near the excitement of a clash on the frontier and certainly did not hold the promise of accolades from spectators that their demonstrations of marksmanship had earned them along the way.

In addition, a decision from above compounded the unavoidable monotony of the siege. Considered specialist troops, the riflemen did not have to partake in routine duties of camp such as mounting guard and fatigue details. Consequently, unless assigned to active duty, they remained consigned to their quarters. For the men of Cresap's command, their camp which stood between Roxbury and Dorchester, controlling the access to Boston Neck, served as quarters. Cresap's company formed a part of the right wing, under the overall command of Major General Artemas Ward.[44] Active duty most often took a form that falls under the general category of partisan warfare. This included sniping at the British lines around Boston, conducting raids in order to achieve a number of objectives including gathering intelligence, taking prisoners, and denying the enemy logistics.[45] Missions such as the following probably did much to alleviate boredom:

> Saturday Night, 26th Captain Creasop [sic], Who Came in the Night before, agreed to go and fire on the Centries. About Thirty of our Company, Our Captain, Lieut. Scott, and Lieut Sheperd went along, they Borrowed Musketts, Loaded them with Ball and about fifteen Swan Shott. They all Creap Down along a ditch that passes the Chimneys, and so By the side of the Breastwork.[46]

The men in Cresap's company who went to snipe at the British sentries carried their rifles, and the troops who escorted them carried muskets. At first this seems a very strange state of affairs. It seems likely, however, that the reason for mixing the troops lay in the idea that the riflemen had been ordered to actually pick off the guards while the other troops provided fire support in the event of a counterattack. Then, the volume of fire that muskets put out would serve to compliment the range and accuracy of the rifle. Such a combination made sense, and utilized the strengths of both the rifle and the musket while minimizing their respective deficiencies. It demonstrates as well that even at this early stage of the war, some American leaders possessed a clear understanding of how to make this combination work to good effect in combat, something not usually commented upon until Daniel Morgan's victory at Hannah's Cowpens in January 1781.[47] The results of the

firing on the sentries proved inconclusive, and the members of the patrol eventually ran back to their lines as a group of about twenty British regulars came out to investigate.[48]

As stated, activities such as this made up the mainstay of the riflemen's activities during the early part of their tour at Cambridge. It is from this period that their reputation as deadly marksmen against the British stems. Initially, it seemed that the riflemen could not fire but hit some hapless British officer. Upon closer examination, however, claims that the riflemen killed some eight British officers are actually false. Five of the eight officers were still living in 1776. There is not enough conclusive information on the other three to make a final determination as to their fate. Washington soon put an end to random sniping missions such as the one described above as they wasted gunpowder and precious ammunition in extremely short supply during the early months of Washington's tenure of command.[49]

Although their abilities as marksmen may have met expectations, the riflemen's undisciplined actions led to a multitude of problems in camp. The most glaring infractions took place as part of the Prospect Hill Mutiny, the first in the history of the Continental Army. The conditions leading to the revolt erupted on September 10, 1775, when several members of Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion were imprisoned for being disrespectful to an officer. Their comrades invaded the brig, and Thompson and his adjutant attempted to re-incarcerate the men. Although the officers attempted to restore order, more troops joined in the resistance. At this point, Washington, Greene, and Lee rode to the scene and called out several other companies, including Nagel's riflemen and ordered them to surround the offenders. A short but tense standoff ensued that ended peacefully. On September 12 a court-martial heard the case and found the mutineers guilty. The men could have received capital punishment but each paid a fine of £1. Although none of the men of Cresap's Company were involved in the mutiny, the event provoked a change in the status of all of the riflemen. As a result of the Pennsylvania troops' actions the riflemen lost their special status and, as did the other men, performed all of the mundane duties necessary for camp life.[50]

Although Marylanders also exhibited undisciplined behavior, none belonged to Cresap's company. In Captain Price's company of Maryland riflemen, James Finley went before a general court martial for "expressing himself disrespectfully of the continental Association, and drinking General Gage's health." The court deprived him of arms and accouterments, placed him in a horse cart with a rope around his neck, drummed him out of the army, and forbade him to ever serve again.[51]

Early skirmishes such as the one depicted above offered both officers and men the opportunity to test their skills against the redcoats. Some of the most competent American battlefield leaders began as officers in the rifle companies. Daniel Morgan is among the most famous, a hero of Saratoga and victor of Cowpens, as already mentioned. Otho Holland Williams of the second Maryland Company performed

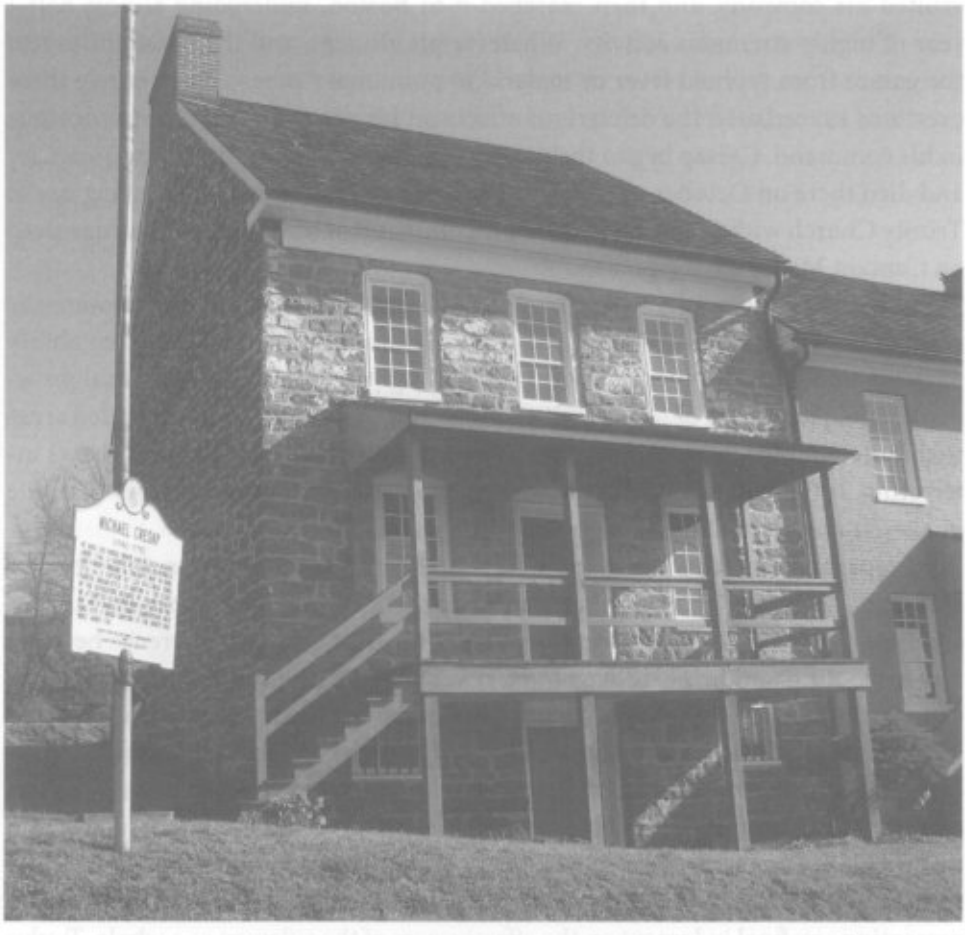
invaluable service in the Camden campaign in 1780 and later as Nathanael Greene's adjutant. Of lesser note, Edward Hand served in important administrative posts, and William Hendricks fell in the assault on Quebec in December 1775.[52] The wartime records of all of these men raise the question of what the future career of Michael Cresap may have been, a question that will remain forever unanswered.

Shortly after the foray of the twenty-sixth, Captain Cresap grew ill. It is worth recalling that he had come directly from the frontier, out on the Ohio River, recruited his company, and then marched it to Boston, undergoing almost half a year of highly strenuous activity. Whatever his ailment, and the possibilities run the gamut from typhoid fever or malaria to pulmonary tuberculosis, surely these exertions exacerbated the deleterious effects on his physique.[53] Too ill to continue in his command, Cresap began the journey homeward. He reached New York City and died there on October 17. Local patriots interred his body the following day at Trinity Church with full military honors. Command of his company then devolved on Captain Moses Rawlings.

What were the myths that surrounded Cresap's company and what were the realities? The men certainly possessed physical stamina as evidenced in their ability to travel hundreds of miles on foot. They willingly displayed their physical prowess, a public statement of masculinity and male identity. Men in more settled areas with different perceptions of masculinity certainly found the riflemen's shows interesting. If the retelling of their feats of marksmanship took on a larger than life quality, it made for all the more potent propaganda.

Propaganda aside, when it came to actual combat, the riflemen inflicted few casualties. Why this difference between their shooting demonstrations and lack of combat effectiveness? One reason would certainly be the simple difference between target shooting and firing at live target. A set performance under ideal conditions can minimize many of the variables in a demonstration, such as weather, unexpected movements of the target, and time of day—not so with combat. Still, the psychological value of a near miss on troops huddled behind fortifications should not be underestimated. The fact that bullets ricocheted nearby did have a profound effect on the British in Boston. By the same token, the amount of material relating to the early combat experiences of the unit is very small, which should be kept in mind before presenting any final judgment on the effectiveness of the riflemen as a whole. Twelve additional companies eventually served in Boston during the same period as Cresap's and also presented uneven performance records.[54] The men of William Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion gave exemplary service in November 1775 at the skirmish on Lechmere's Point, yet this same battalion, specifically the men of Captain James Ross's Company were at the center of the Prospect Hill Mutiny.[55] Only Daniel Morgan's Company from Virginia, which joined Arnold's expedition to Canada in September 1775 and was captured during the final phases of the assault on Quebec, can claim a solid record for discipline and military effectiveness.[56] Thus, the overall performance

record of the riflemen is uneven at best. The data that are currently available enable us to question the myth of the riflemen that often looms far larger than the reality—a story of ordinary men who took up arms in defense of their homes.



Cresap House, Frederick, Maryland. (Photo by Mark Plummer.)

Notes

1. Col. John W. Wright, "The Rifle in the American Revolution," *American Historical Review*, 29 (1924): 293 [hereinafter cited *AHR*]; Oscar H. Stroh *Thompson's Battalion and/or the First Continental Regiment* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Graphic Services, 1975), 15.
2. Most of the history of the War of Independence that discusses the role of the riflemen has approached their participation in one of two ways. Either their activities are mentioned in relation to a particular campaign, or a unit history follows the origins and evolution of a certain group through a part of the conflict. Although both of these methods can yield solid, well-researched histories, neither has, as of yet, produced an analysis of the riflemen according to the parameters laid out above. The campaign histories that highlight the riflemen include David Hackett Fischer, Washington's Crossing (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); Joe D. Huddleston, Colonial Riflemen in the American *Revolution* (York, Pa.: George Shumway Publisher, 1978); Richard B. LaCrosse Jr., *Revolutionary Rangers: Daniel Morgan's Riflemen and their Role on the Northern Frontier, 1778–1783* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc., 2002); Arthur F. Lefkowitz, *Benedict Arnold's Army: The 1775 American Invasion of Canada During the Revolutionary War* (New York: Savas Beatie, 2008); Max M. Mintz, *The Generals of Saratoga* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990); Barnet Schecter, *The Battle for New York: The City at the Heart of the American Revolution* (New York: Walker and Company, 2002). Unit histories of the riflemen currently include William W. Edwards, "Morgan and His Riflemen," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 23 (October 1914), 72–105 [hereinafter cited *WMQ*]; Andrew Gallup, *A Sketch of the Virginia Soldier in the Revolution* (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc. 1999); Tucker F. Hentz, "Unit History of the Maryland and Virginia Rifle Regiment (1776–1781): Insights from the Service Record of Capt. Adamson Tannehill," *Military Collector and Historian*, 58 (Fall 2006): 129–44; Col. William V. Kennedy, *Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle: Battalion Keystone of the U.S. Army* (Carlisle, Pa.: Stone House Studio, 1985); Philip J. Schlegel, *Recruits to Continentals: A History of the York County Rifle Company June 1775–January 1777* (York, Pa.: Historical Society of York County, 1979); Oscar H. Stroh, *Thompson's Rifle Battalion and/or the First Continental Regiment* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Graphic Services, 1975); and John B.B. Trussell, *The Pennsylvania Line* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1993); Note that the overwhelming number of publications listed above relate to the Pennsylvania units. To date, only one work has attempted to discuss the role of the riflemen through the entire conflict, Michael Cecere *They Are Indeed a Very Useful Corps: American Riflemen in the Revolutionary War* (Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books, 2006).
3. Dale J. Schmitt, "The Capture of Colonel Moses Rawlings," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 71 (1976), 205 [hereinafter cited *MdHM*].
4. An expert was anyone who could place a shot in a target roughly the size of human nose at the distance of 150 yards. On this point, see M. L. Brown, *Firearms in Colonial America, 1492–1792* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980), 270.
5. Worthington C. Ford, et al, eds., *Journals of the Continental Congress*, 1774–1789 (Washington, DC: 1904–1937) 2: 89 [hereinafter cited *JJC*].
6. For the development of the Pennsylvania rifle, see John Bivens, *Longrifles of North Carolina* (York, Pa.: George Shumway, 1968); M.L. Brown, *Firearms in Colonial America, 1492–1792* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980); William Buchele and George Shumway, *Recreating the American Longrifle* (York, Pa.: George Shumway Publisher, 1970); Samuel E. Dyke, *The Pennsylvania Rifle* (Lancaster, Pa.: Bicentennial Book, 1974); Robert

E. Gardner, *American Arms & Arms Makers* (Columbus, Ohio: College Book Company, 1944); Harold B. Gill, *The Gunsmith in Colonial Virginia* (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1974); Arcadi Gluckman, *United States Muskets, Rifles and Carbines* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Otto Ulbrich Co., 1948); Henry J. Kauffman, *Early American Gunsmiths, 1650–1850* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Company, 1952); and Henry J. Kauffman, The *Gunsmith* (Watkins Glen, N.Y.: Century House, 1959); Horace Kephart, "The Rifle in Colonial Times," *Magazine of History*, 24 (1890): 79–81; Joe Kindig, *Thoughts on the Kentucky Rifle in its Golden Age* (York, Pa.: George Shumway, 1960); Richard F. Rosenberger and Charles Kauffman, *The Longrifles of Western Pennsylvania: Allegheny and Westmoreland Counties* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993); Philip B. Sharpe, *The Rifle in America* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1938); George Shumway, *Jaeger Rifles* (York, Pa.: George Shumway Publisher, 2003); Norman B. Wilkinson, "The Pennsylvania Rifle," *Historic Pennsylvania Leaflet*, Number 4 (Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1976); James B. Whisker, *Arms Makers of Colonial America* (London: Associated University Presses, 1992); James B. Whisker, Arms *Making in Maryland* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1991); James B. Whisker, *Arms Makers of Virginia and West Virginia* (Lewiston, N.Y.: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1990); and John W. Wright, "The Rifle in the American Revolution," *AHR*, 29 (1924): 26–30.

7. Wilkinson, "The Pennsylvania Rifle," 4.

8. In the backcountry of South Carolina especially the rifle would play a significant role in the later stages of the War of Independence. An excellent reference source is Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas*, 4 vols. (Booklocker), 2004–2006.

9. The Congress set pay rates for the officers and specified that the men were to arm and to clothe themselves. Likewise, they created the oath of service each soldier was required to swear on enlisting, *JCC*, 2: 89–90.

10. Henry J. Young, ed. "The Spirit of 1775: A Letter of Robert Magaw, Major of the Continental Riflemen to the Gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence in the Town of Carlisle, Dated at Cambridge, 13 August 1775, with an Essay on the Background and Sequel," *John and Mary's Journal*, 1 (1975), 18. Allowing the men to choose their own officers is often noted as leading to problems when it came to the inculcation and maintenance of discipline.

11. Peter Force, ed., *Am. Arch.* Vol. 2, 1775 (Washington, D.C.: M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, 1839), 1044–45 [hereinafter cited *Am. Arch.*]. In connection with Otho Holland Williams's exploits in the southern campaigns, see Richard Batt, *The Maryland Continentals, 1780–1782* (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1974). Although Williams receives fair treatment in a number of sources, this work centers attention on the Maryland troops, thus bringing his activities to the forefront.

12. The father had attained a long and dubious reputation for his exploits on the frontier. See Young, "Spirit of 1775," 16. The article giving Thomas Cresap's exploits in the French and Indian War is quoted in Armand Francis Lucier, *French and Indian War Notices Abstracted from Colonial Newspapers*, Vol. 2: 1755–1756 (Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, Inc, 1999), 84. The charge against Michael Cresap, which has been deemed by most modern historians as false, was based on accusations made by the chief Logan. These were later recorded by Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on Virginia*. The charges became so widely known that the conflict is sometimes referred to as Cresap's War. See William Hintzen, *The Border Wars of the Upper Ohio Valley (1769–1794)* (Manchester, Connecticut: Precision Shooting, Inc., 1999); and John J. Jacob, *A Biographical Sketch of the Life of the Late Captain Michael Cresap* (Cincinnati,

Oh.: John F. Uhlorn, 1866). The second account was written by a close associate of Cresap and should therefore be read with some caution. Hintzen does by far a much more thorough job of deconstructing the charges against Cresap and disproving them.

13. For references to Thomas Cresap as the Maryland Monster, see Robert McGinn and Larry Vaden, "Michael Cresap and the Cresap Rifles," *West Virginia History*, 39 (1978): 341–42. Silas Deane to Elizabeth Deane quoted in Johnson, *Letters to the Delegates of the Continental Congress*, 1: 558.

14. Cresap's involvement in the incident remains open to much conjecture. Concerning Cresap's alleged role in beginning the conflict, the most recent work to discus the subject is Robert G. Parkinson, " From Indian Killer to Worthy Citizen: The Revolutionary Transformation of Michael Cresap," *WMQ*, 63 (2006): 97–122. This work is flawed on several accounts in that it takes the original claim by Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on Virginia* at face value, though numerous subsequent scholars have challenged them. Likewise, the article examines the manner in which military heroes are "created" and thus emphasizes Michael Cresap's role in provoking Dunmore's war in order to support the overall thesis.

15. One of the men under his command was none other that George Rogers Clark. Unfortunately, any records of either famous Virginian's perceptions of Cresap or vice versa are lost in the mists of the past. The mention of George Rogers Clark as serving in Cresap's unit is in McGinn and Vaden, "Cresap Rifles," 343; for Morgan's command over Cresap, see Hintzen, *Border Wars*, 37.

16. Young, "Spirit of 1775," 16. Some of the tracts Michael Cresap claimed were also claimed by others, see Walter S. Dunn, *Choosing Sides on the Frontier in the American Revolution* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2007), 117.

17. For a useful discussion of the frontier, see William R. Nester, *The Frontier War for American Independence* (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2004), 43. See also Gregory T. Knouff, *The Soldier's Revolution: Pennsylvanians in Arms and the Forging of Early American Identity* (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004).

18. At the time, Pennsylvania and Virginia both claimed this area, making it a contested zone with regard to its administration. Young, "Spirit of 1775," 22. See also McGinn and Vaden, "Cresap Rifles," 344.

19. The Pennsylvania companies recruited very quickly and even exceeded the quota set by Congress. Likewise, there is evidence that in order to maintain standards of taking only highly skilled marksmen into the ranks, shooting contests were held. For a first-hand account see John Harrower, "Diary of John Harrower," *AHR*, 6 (1900): 100.

20. Young, "Spirit of 1775," 22. For the additional claim, see Force, *Am. Arch.* Series 4, volume 6, 1678.

21. Estimates vary widely as to the cost of rifles at the time. Samuel E. Dyke places the cost as somewhere between ten and fifteen dollars, a sizeable investment for anyone beginning a settlement on the frontier, Dyke, *The Pennsylvania Rifle*, 16.

22. Unless otherwise noted, the material for the following section derives from William H. Egle, ed., *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. 10 (Harrisburg, Pa.: 1887–1888), and Danske Dandridge, *Historic Shepherdstown* (Charlottesville, Va.: The Michie Company, 1910).

23. *Pennsylvania Archives,* Series 2, volume 10 presents the muster rolls of the various companies. Although information on ages is lacking in these accounts, detailed research by other scholars has disclosed the fact that the majority of the private soldiers in these units were young men in their early twenties, with the officers usually, but not always, being somewhat older. In this regard see, Schlegel, *Recruits to Continentals*, 10–11, and Stroh, *Thompson's Rifle Battalion*, 38–43. Although both of these auhtors studied Pennsylvania organizations

it stands to reason that the same patterns would hold for men of the Maryland frontier.
24. Knouff, *The Soldiers' Revolution*, 22–23. For a discussion of the masculinity of the Jack Tars, see Robert McGregor, "The Popular Press and the Creation of Military Masculinities in Georgian Britain," Paul H. Higate, ed. *Military Masculinities Identity and the State* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2003), 143–56; Kate Haulman "Fashion and the Culture Wars of Revolutionary Philadelphia," *WMQ*, 62 (2005): 645.
25. Dunn, *Choosing Sides*, 9–27.
26. Knouff also notes both defense of community and the possibility of gain as being important motivating factors in bringing the men to fight, *Soldiers' Revolution*, 34.
27. Unfortunately, along with omitting their name, the author does not leave us the name of the town, though the account closely resembles one from Frederick, Maryland, also anonymous. It is very likely that the same account was reprinted in a variety of different sources as patriot propaganda.
28. Quoted in Thomas Balch ed., *Papers Relating Chiefly to the Maryland Line during the Revolution* (Philadelphia: T.K. and P.S. Collins Printers, 1857), 5–6.
29. William Nester, *Frontier War*, 43, notes the mixing of cultures that took place on the frontier. This has not gone unquestioned. Joseph Ruckman, *Recreating the American Longhunter: 1740–1790* (Excelsior Springs, Mo.: Fine Arts Press, 2000), 25, points out that when they came into contact with more settled areas, such as when they went to church, the men of the frontier probably "dressed up" literally, so as not to be seen as savages by their peers.
30. Joe Huddleston, *Colonial Riflemen*, 22.
31. Quoted in Balch, ed., *Maryland Line Papers*, 6.
32. Young, "Spirit of 1775," 22.
33. Force, *Am. Arch.* 2: 1687.
34. Quoted in Balch, *Maryland Line Papers*, 6–7.
35. Details on shooting contests can be found in M.L. Brown, *Firearms in Colonial America: The Impact on History and Technology* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Press, 1980), 270.
36. Balch, *Maryland Line Papers*, 7.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid.
39. Charles Royster, *A Revolutionary People at War: The Continental Army and American Character, 1775–1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979), 25–53. Specific comments relating to the American fascination with the riflemen can be found on pages 33–34.
40. Bedinger in Dandrige, *Historic Shepherdstown*, 99.
41. Ibid, 95.
42. Young, "Spirit of 1775," 24.
43. Force, American Archives, III:2; the document is also reproduced in Danske Dandride, *American Prisoners of the Revolution* (Charlottesville, Va.: The Michie Co., 1911), 9.
44. Young, "Spirit of 1775," 36.
45. Christopher Duffy, *The Military Experience in the Age of Reason, 1715–1789* (New York: Scribner, 1987), 273–79, presents an excellent discussion of these activities as they transpired in the European context during the period. For a much more thorough discussion of partisan warfare in a slightly earlier period, see George Satterfield, *Princes, Posts, and Partisans the Army of Louis XIV and Partisan Warfare in the Netherlands (1673–1678)* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). Currently the only work to examine the partisan dimension of the war in the northern department is Mark V. Kwasny, *Washington's Partisan War, 1775–1783* (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1996). This work, however, does not discus the role played by the riflemen explicitly.

46. Henry Bedinger, "Journal" quoted in Dennis P. Ryan, ed., *A Salute to Courage: The American Revolution as Seen through the Wartime Writings of Officers of the Continental Army and Navy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979), 11.
47. Currently, the most thorough discussion of Morgan's use of riflemen at the battle of Cowpens is Lawrence E. Babits, *A Devil of a Whipping: the Battle of Cowpens* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).
48. Bedinger, "Journal," in Ryan, *Salute*, 11.
49. Young, "Spirit of 1775," 37–38.
50. In connection with these events, see Stroh, *Thompson's Rifle Battalion*, 27; Schlegel, *Recruits to Continentals*, 16; and Young, "Spirit of 1775," 39–40.
51. George Washington, "General Orders" in W.W. Abbot and Dorothy Twohig, eds., *The Papers of George Washington, Revolutionary War Series,* Vol. 2, (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1986), 1; Caroline Cox, *A Proper Sense of Honor: Service and Sacrifice in George Washington's Army* (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2004).
52. On Edward Hand, see Richard R. Forry, *Edward Hand: His Role in the American Revolution* (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1976); on William Hendricks, see Alan G. Crist, *Captain William Hendricks and the March to Quebec (1775)* (Carlisle, Pa.: The Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, 1960).
53. Young, "Spirit of 1775," 48–49.
54. The total of twelve units derives from the fact that due to the rousing local response, Pennsylvania actually recruited nine companies total as opposed to the six that Congress originally requested. These troops were brigaded together to form the Pennsylvania Rifle Battalion under Colonel William Thompson of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania.
55. The most complete description of Lechmere's Point is contained in a letter from George Washington to John Hancock dated November 11, 1775, *Washington Papers, Rev. War,* Vol. 2, 350–51. He also mentions the engagement in a letter to William Ramsay, dated November 10–16. See Ibid, 344–45.
56. For the Canadian expedition, the most recent work is Arthur S. Lefkowitz *Benedict Arnold's Army.* The work does a fine job of highlighting the role of the rifle companies that took part in this campaign.

THE

FREE NEGRO QUESTION

IN MARYLAND.

C. W. Jacobs

SLAVERY AND FREE NEGROISM INCOMPATIBLE.—THE DOCTRINE OF EQUALITY EXPOSED AND REFUTED.—ORIGIN OF ABOLITIONISM IN THIS COUNTRY AND ITS AIMS.—VAST DISASTERS ATTENDING FREE NEGROISM EVERY WHERE.—MARYLAND MUST ENSLAVE OR EXPEL HER FREE NEGROES, OR CONSENT TO BE RUINED BY THEM.—WHITE SLAVERY AT THE NORTH; AND THE GENERAL DESIGNS OF ABOLITIONISTS TO ABOLISH NEGRO SLAVERY, AND SUBSTITUTE WHITE SLAVERY IN ITS STEAD, AS IS NOW THE CASE IN MONARCHICAL EUROPE.—ABLE LETTER OF COL. C. W. JACOBS ON THIS ALL-ABSORBING QUESTION.

BALTIMORE:
JOHN W. WOODS, PRINTER.
1859.

Curtis Washington Jacobs: Architect of Absolute Black Enslavement, 1850–1864

Willa Banks

In the late antebellum period, Maryland's slaveholders encountered a crossroads as they aimed to maintain an old establishment in a new order. The state's emerging commercial-industrial economy and the predominance of wheat cultivation gave rise to a significant shift in the labor requirements and stood to undermine the slave economy. With the gradual replacement of tobacco by wheat cultivation and the escape and interstate sale of slaves, the demands for free and enslaved labor became increasingly juxtaposed as the institution of slavery diminished with each passing decade. To counter these developments, slaveholders formulated a campaign to preserve their assets. One leading figure of the minority faction, Curtis Washington Jacobs, offered a solution to stem the tide of these events—the enslavement of all blacks for life.[1]

Jacobs made his first appeal for absolute black enslavement at Maryland's 1850–1851 Constitutional Convention. As a committee chairman, he presented a report asking the state to "terminate free negroism." Ever vigilant of the steady growth of the free black population and their challenge to the "racial ideology of slavery," this committee planned to check their numbers by proposing re-enslavement or banishment from the state. Even though non-slaveholders and slaveholders alike shared similar concerns about the growing free black population, they could not agree on a solution. Consequently, the senate rebuffed Jacobs's proposal. His argument, however, influenced the passage of an amendment that gave the legislature the power to regulate and "dispose of the black population as they may see fit."[2]

Legislative proposals to constrict the lives of blacks, particularly the lives of free blacks, recurred throughout this era. Since the late eighteenth century state law required free persons to obtain work. If they failed to do so, they faced varied punishments, including banishment from the state or possible sale into bonded labor

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Curtis Washington Jacobs (1835–?) believed that the free black work force undermined the slave-labor economy.

for a given period of time. Citizen petitions, memorials, or legislative committees had suggested similar laws in 1818, 1831, 1832, and 1842. Each contained these common themes—conditional manumission, banishment of blacks from the state for a variety of reasons, and a clause calling for the re-enslavement of free blacks. Often these provisions failed—as a whole or in part—because the majority viewed them as too severe. Most whites believed that free blacks would leave the state rather than live under insensible and life-restricting conditions. Yet, the issue of "property loss" and the example of free blacks in the face of slavery weighed heavily on the minds of slaveholders, particularly those with large slave holdings.[3]

Wealthy slaveholders such as Jacobs had much to lose. He and his wife Mary and their four children lived on an Eastern Shore farm in Worcester County, Maryland, an estate worth $80,000 in the district of Berlin. His movable property was worth $70,000, and he owned twenty-two slaves. However, it is unclear if this slave total, or a portion of it, is representative of his wife's 1858 bequeathal following the death of her father. Nonetheless, his monetary wealth and numerous slaves ranked him as a wealthy planter, "typical slaveholding in the state or within each of the regions taken separately was one slave." Jacobs's significant holdings afforded him the opportunity to rent out most of his slaves, which served as a major source of his income. And more than likely, he utilized a portion of his slaves for domestic and seasonal work as well as for plantation maintenance. Other planters in this period of agricultural reform, selected alternative solutions including the use of newly patented machinery such as plows, hay pressers, and reapers.[4]

Regardless of these developments, many slaveholders struggled to maintain their operating cost, particularly on the Eastern Shore and in southern Maryland. With the dwindling tobacco market and the gradual planting of wheat (less labor - intensive) as a staple crop, many slaveholders no longer needed the services of a steady work force, and in time they were left with a surplus of slaves. As a consequence some slaveholders, in order to reduce the cost of holding slaves, freed most or all of them and hired free blacks as day laborers and, in some regions, "a white harvest crew" during periods of planting and harvesting. Although this course of action remedied the seasonal demands for labor, it further entwined the world of slaves and free blacks, a situation that became most problematic in the agricultural regions of the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland. By 1850 in southern Maryland, where 98 percent of the state's tobacco was grown, free blacks and enslaved blacks represented 14.9 and 52.9 percent of the total population respectively. "One white in nine, on the average, was a slave owner." Conversely, on the Eastern Shore where slaveholders primarily cultivated wheat, free blacks and enslaved blacks represented 33.1 and 28.8 percent of the total population repsectfully. Whites totaled 18.6 percent of the population.[5]

Jacobs noticed the disparity in these numbers. Speaking before a meeting of slaveholders in 1858, he recalled the total number ("75,000") of free blacks in the

state and projected a one-third increase in their status by 1860 and maintained that they had become detrimental to Maryland. He argued that free blacks no longer functioned in their "natural" capacity, "profitable and subservient to the common good." In Berlin, for example, Jacobs claimed that free blacks would not agree to a year-long work contract. Instead, they chose to work by the hour for "doctors, lawyers, mechanics, and all local pursuits." These liberties, according to Jacobs, not only changed the "relationship of free blacks to whites" but also jeopardized the agricultural industry. He emphatically exclaimed, "No prudent farmer will hazard his crops upon such uncertain labor! He must have constant labor by the year. He cannot afford to risk his time and capital in agriculture."[6]

But little known to Jacobs and others who remained invested in slaveholding these forces could not be controlled. As the decade progressed, the complexities surrounding the issue of labor intensified. Nearing completion by the 1850s, the industrial and transportation revolutions that began in 1810 left an uneven swathe of regional transformations. Northern Maryland, an area that comprised six counties and the cradle of the state's hub (Baltimore), contained most of Maryland's factories and shops. It dominated the state's industrial and commercial activity and employed 90 percent of Maryland's laborers. Baltimore also served as a focal point of the state's vast transportation network, turnpikes, canals, railroads, and marine transport, and its businessmen "organized and controlled the agricultural, mineral, and industrial wealth of the entire state." The commercial and industrial boom had largely bypassed the agricultural regions of the Eastern Shore and southern Maryland and as a result they remained economically stagnant.[7]

Before the close of this rapidly changing decade, Eastern Shore slaveholders faced an even greater challenge, a rash of runaways. On June 26, 1856, Jacobs wrote in his diary that in the latter part of January 1855 "one negro named Hardy runaway," and six months later Joshua made an escape but "they succeeded in getting him." Jacobs recorded no additional information about these incidents or the consequences of Joshua's failed escape. However, he described the contents of a letter, written in January 1855, that forewarned him of a massive runaway plot, one that included the flight of "a large number of his slaves" and slaves on neighboring plantations. In the months following Joshua's capture, Jacobs had devised a plan to impede the loss of slaves. On the morning of June 26, 1856, with the help of hired neighbors including his business partner, Captain William Holland, Jacobs and his associates "scoured the country-side" until a "little after night" to gather his hired-out slaves who labored for renters throughout the region. After gathering his slaves, Jacobs confined them with handcuffs and "horse locks for the ankles." Two days later he forced thirty-eight of his slaves to travel in a chain-gang by foot and others by wagon to Prairie Bluff, Alabama, a state in the Lower South with an expanding economy. They arrived "eight days" later on July 5, 1856. And with the "kindness and assistance" of Mr. Joshua Robbins, Jacobs hired-out his slaves "to good homes" in "Milcot County"

until the end of the year. Jacobs believed "by that time Captain Holland's wishes" would "be realized in respect to his own private affairs." Apparently, Captain William Holland and Jacobs had been business partners for sometime and decided to end their association in December, for other pursuits. Thereafter, Jacobs planned to rent his slaves for an additional twelve months and purchase land later for their permanent residence in the state of Alabama. Jacobs made no mention of moving to Alabama himself or relocating his family. However, his diary entries suggest that he traveled annually to Alabama until 1860.[8]

The recording of these events, with the exception of his Alabama business dealings, appears to have been written a year after the fact and with consternation. Jacobs recounted in his diary, in a seemingly cathartic manner, several acts of defiance that had taken place in 1855. First, Jacobs claimed that several enslaved women ended the lives of their children by practicing infanticide "repeatedly" while others terminated their unwanted pregnancies by "systematically [taking] teas and drugs." Second, a more disturbing act to Jacobs, no doubt, some of his slaves ("several men and women") conspired to poison him and his family by placing some "unknown poison on six plates of butter at different times." Jacobs named Obed, Leah, and Charlotte as the three principal leaders in this plot. Yet, he expressed no harsh words or contemptuous statements about the men and women involved in these events or meted out punishment for their rebellion. Instead, he blamed "the evil influence" of the abolitionists and the large number of free blacks who lived in the area for "put[ting] them up to this plot." As a consequence of having little control over the situation, he felt compelled to take them away from this less than favorable environment. He also contended that he did not understand the defiance of his slaves given that "[he and his family] had always treated them kindly and allowed them every reasonable indulgence." Besides, they had been given lectures on the principles of morality, religion, and their relationship and duties to him as their "master and [his] to them as slaves."[9]

Although the voices of Obed, Leah, Charlotte, and the other enslaved African Americans who lived under Jacobs's confinement are silent, the accusations about them raise resounding questions. First, why would a slaveholder risk the lives of his family members and himself by holding on to would-be murderers? Second, did the women who "repeatedly" engaged in infanticide and abortion lack the maternal instinct to care for their infants or give birth to them in the face of enslavement? More succinctly, Jacobs's assertions and reactions seem illogical in light of a profit-driven enterprise based upon the labor of slaves. In fact, the findings of many scholars in the field of southern history are incongruous with Jacobs's claims. Both John Hope Franklin and Eugene Genovese maintained that infanticide was uncommon. Even though Genovese's studies show that enslaved women knew how to induce abortions and arrange an end to a child's life soon after birth; he uncovered little evidence, even after forced cohabitation, that enslaved women commonly killed their unborn

or newborn infant. Conversely, violent acts against the master class were numerous and "poisoning was always feared." Plus, those who were caught resisting slavery, whether alone or conspiring with others, paid a heavy price.[10]

Months after the foiled plot on Jacobs's farm, rumors of possible insurrections had begun circulating in Dorchester County, but nothing materialized. Yet forty-four slaves escaped from this county within three weeks in October 1857. Slaveholders had no evidence regarding the leader(s) of this escape, but they attributed the success of this escape to agents of the Underground Railroad. More than likely, one of them was Harriet Tubman. Kate Clifford Larson, in Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero, maintains that Harriet Tubman returned to the Eastern Shore during the summer of 1857 to rescue her enslaved sister Rachel and her children. Her attempt to rescue them failed, yet she remained in the area and helped a group of thirty-five slaves plan an escape during the fall season. Perhaps further research will uncover additional facts regarding these episodes of resistance on the Eastern Shore. Needless to say, these occurrences heightened the

And now before God and my Conscience
feel that I have done my duty in thus taking
said negroes from the evil influences operating
on them and over which I could have no
controll.

I had a safe and prosperous journey
from home to Prairie Bluff, Wilcox Co.
Alabama, where I arrived on 5th July 1856
just 8 days after leaving home. There I
put them in two separate houses to rest
and wash and clean up, bought them
provisions to cook themselves and kept them
there about two weeks, and through the
kindness and assistance of Mr. Josiah
Robins succeeded in hiring them all out
to good homes for the remainder of this year.

Excerpt from Jacobs's diary in which he described taking his slaves to Alabama. (Maryland Historical Society.)

concerns of slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike throughout the region. Within eight months, a gang of thirty men in Kent County tarred and feathered James L. Bowers (an antislavery spokesman) and Tillison (a free black woman who allegedly held sway over black people) on the night of June 23, 1858, as a means to eliminate their presence in the state. The men accused the victims of inciting runaways. A summer of disturbances followed as some of the neighbors clashed over how Bowers had been treated, a conflict that deeply troubled the slaveholders who perceived these acts as a threat to the foundation of slavery.[11]

Without delay, they scheduled a county-wide meeting for July 17, 1858, to discuss the right to defend the loss of their "property" and to remove persons who encouraged and assisted in the absconding of slaves. Likewise, Worcester County slaveholders assembled in September to discuss not only the local protection of their "slave property" but also the power and duty of the Maryland government to guard against adversaries (including whites and free blacks) of its laws and institutions. To effect these resolutions, Worcester County slaveholders called for a general convention of Eastern Shore slaveholders that would convene in Cambridge in November 1858.[12]

On the first day of their two-day assembly in Cambridge, the Eastern Shore slaveholders established a committee to draft the resolutions. Although the meeting centered on the protection of slave property, the growing number of free blacks and the slaveholders' desire to control their autonomy became the predominate issues of the committee. As a member of this decision-making body, Jacobs undoubtedly expressed his opinion on the situation. Even though the extent to which he presented his argument is not known, an overview of his likely perspective follows.

Slave shackles. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Jacobs called for a change in attitude towards the emancipation of blacks and proclaimed, "No other Southern state had been so imbibed with the false doctrines of English writers on the subject of slavery and emancipation as [our] own state," and he claimed "that no other had caused to be alarm of free negroism as Maryland." Then, he made a plea for "Maryland[ers] to retrace [their] steps and give up on the false doctrine of equality and to retrieve the earlier position that she held during the earlier period of her history."[13]

Jacobs faced an uphill battle as he aimed to convince slaveholders that they were on a slippery slope. Decades of emancipation showed a ballooning class of free blacks and a gradual decline in slavery. At the time of this convention the free black and enslaved totals on the Eastern Shore neared 28,277 and 24,957 respectively—a 14 percent increase in the free black population and 4 percent decline in slavery within a ten-year period.[14] To persuade his colleagues on the importance of slavery, Jacobs denounced the *Declaration of the Rights of Man* espoused by British abolitionists in the late eighteenth century and condemned "the notion of universal and unbridled liberty." He maintained that foreign slaveholders made a grave mistake by freeing blacks in Latin America, Haiti, and the former colonies of Great Britain. According to Jacobs, devastation came "to the moral and social condition of the slave, the material wealth of the country, and the well being of [the] white people." He warned that the same outcome would occur in "Maryland and elsewhere," even "in the midst of progress," if slaveholders continually set their slaves free.[15]

To bolster his argument for black enslavement as a common good, Jacobs "affirmed the rightness" of slaveholding by maintaining that God created a practical world for all creation, one that consists of "inequality, diversity, and variety;" and "In this, His wisdom and glory are the more apparent, and our essential good the better attested." Moreover, Jacobs believed this plan to be evident in nature. First, he argued that God had clearly shown his plan of inequality in the models of "the whole human family, masters and slaves, [and] Christians and heathens." Second, he stated that God, being practical, created this plan for subsistence purposes since equals could not govern equals, and he underscored this point by drawing inequality inferences from models of master and slave relationships in the Bible and describing the dominant acts of predators over their prey. Jacobs then tied this philosophy to the enslavement of blacks and offered it as a justification. He maintained, "to free him [the black] is to inflict the greatest possible injury, for that you expose him to the higher cares, duties, and responsibilities pertaining to citizenship, and for which he never was fitted by nature and to which he can not attain by practice." Finally, he declared that the "curses of [the] judgment of God have always fallen upon a nation and people who wantonly violate and trifling sport with his established order of things."[16]

By basing his argument on "[the Divine] sanctioning of racial subordination," Jacobs has craftily declared the need and the justification of slavery by using the

Bible and the doctrines of southern paternalism, a class system that was heavily reinforced by racism and designed to justify one man's supremacy over the other.[17] It identified blacks as "powerless, submissive, and dependent on whites." Yet, free blacks in Maryland, like others in the nation, defied these codes, and by example they proved to slaves that blacks could live independent of whites. For instance, free blacks in Baltimore, the area with the largest concentration in the state, had established a vibrant community that included schools, churches, literary clubs, and benevolent societies. Also, in Berlin, Maryland, Jacobs's home district, some of the free blacks owned or rented land. This semblance of prosperity drew the ire of many whites including Jacobs who accused free blacks of monopolizing the "handy jobs that the poor and needy whites could perform" as well as depriving young white citizens of land ownership.[18]

As a final point in his supposition, Jacobs damned the free labor system, which he considered "an absurdity" and contended that it, unlike slavery, led to an impoverished society. To build his case, Jacobs stressed its pitfalls. First, he cited examples from the *New York Courier and Enquirer* and quoted job advertisements that publicized work for children of both sexes and one, in particular, that petitioned girls and women. He then exclaimed, "What a bleak and cheerless home that must be: thank God, we have no such homes in the South!" Next, Jacobs painted an even gloomier picture for the entire northern portion of the nation, he mentioned the need for soup kitchens and charities and made implicit remarks about the drudgery of factory work and exclaimed this is "white slavery!" Finally, he spoke unfavorably about the life of the northern black who, at the "edict" of abolitionists, left a home and a life of no worries [as a slave in the South], for poverty in the North. Furthermore, blacks in the North faced imprisonment and being "sold into slavery because they were poor." Also, he claimed, in this cursed Northern society, that the most "vulnerable" groups of people in the culture have been forced to live a life of destitution as a consequence of its citizens straying from the "established order" of nature.[19] With that contrasting remark, Jacobs encapsulated his argument—slavery was vital for the "common good."

To correct Maryland's wayward course and counter the acts of emancipation, Jacobs offered a radical solution. He maintained that all blacks who had been freed since the 1831 act, a law that included terms for the expulsion of emancipated slaves, should be "remanded into slavery by law." And, as a strategy to amend decades of failed statutes, he proposed that "all slaves held for a term less than slaves for life, ought to go into slavery for life, or leave the state in one year from the expiration of their term of service. The balance of our free negroes might be place[d] on their election of slavery or freedom." In conclusion, Jacobs assured the delegates that these actions were warranted by indicating that he opposed forcing free blacks out of the state, but they would not leave voluntarily. Moreover he alleged that free blacks, as laborers, could not be "relied upon under the present loose government."[20]

Although Jacobs's proposal would have offered a fail-safe system for reducing and ultimately eliminating the free black population, the convention's committee seemingly sensed the potential fallout behind the suggestion of such extreme terms; and perhaps, for this reason, they did not endorse it. Still, despite this difference in opinion, the committee members held the common belief that Maryland "ought to continue" as a slaveholding state "true to the interest of her Southern sisters and herself." Given that, they determined that the existing laws did not adequately protect the slaveholders and their property nor control the black population, chiefly, the free blacks who by "example and influence . . . render them [slaves] dissatisfied with their condition" and "inducing them to abscond from servitude." And therefore, in light of these premises, the delegates adopted the following resolutions. First, they determined that "free negroism and slavery were incompatible . . . and should not be permitted longer to exist in their present relations." Second, they called for a statewide convention to be held in Baltimore the following June (1859), whereby citizens of the state would meet to "devise some system . . . for the better regulation of the negro population of this State" and present it to the next General Assembly. Third, at Jacobs's urging, the committee resolved to consider returning "free negroes to servitude if they persisted in remaining in the State." Jacobs also maintained this would "remedy the evils" (the expressed concerns about the black population, principally, free blacks) complained of in the convention.[21] As a final resolution, the committee determined that a letter expressing these grievances would be drafted and then published in every county newspaper, prior to the Baltimore convention, for public knowledge and selection of delegates in line with their position. Although the details on the shaping of these resolutions are not known, Jacobs admitted (in his letter) that these decisions were in harmony with his point of view and "adopted by the convention in Cambridge at [his] suggestion."[22]

As expected, these solutions received mixed reviews in the local newspapers even within the same faction. *The Planters' Advocate*, a proslavery newspaper in southern Maryland, lauded the Eastern Shore slaveholders for their determined efforts to protect slavery even if it meant amending the current statutes. Conversely, the editor of the *States Rights Advocate*, a proslavery Democratic paper in Queen Anne's County, maintained that "Colonel Jacob[']s proposition, then, is one alternative impracticable, to both slave-holders and non[-] slave[holders]."[23] Yet, two papers from Cecil County, a county that had fewer slaves and one that depended heavily on free black labor, approached the subject from different angles. The Cecil *Democrat* viewed the resolutions as unrealistic given the labor needs of the state's farmers and families who hired black women as cooks or house servants. Also expressing labor concerns, the Cecil *Whig* cunningly asked that the county's interest be protected from not only the "undesirable" examples of free blacks but also from the laboring whites who lawfully manage groggeries around which "negroes congregate."[24]

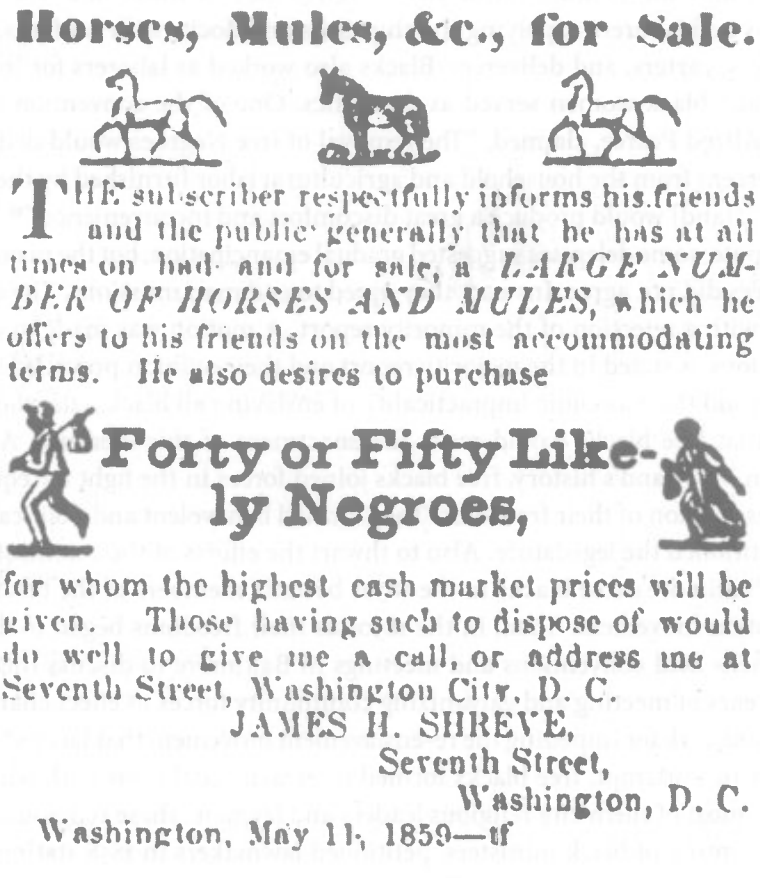
Well aware of population totals and the threat of free laborers, Jacobs clearly

saw the need to influence the dialogue on "free negroism" and the free labor system before the Baltimore convention met. On January 10, 1859, Jacobs responded, by letter, to a newspaper editor's criticism of his solution. The letter contained his entire argument on the question of blacks and the related issues as well as a request to the citizens of each county. He asked them to consider the enslavement of free blacks and the banishment of those who did not comply and to choose convention delegates who held their position. This letter, printed in pamphlet form in 1859, appears to have received full publication. This probably occurred before the next slaveholders' convention and the timing may have served a twofold purpose.[25] First, the publicity more than likely helped to inform and galvanize the county residents who held meetings throughout the spring of 1859 to determine their stance on the free black issue and select delegates for the fall convention. Second, in a larger context, slaveholders stood to gain additional legislative power in Maryland's upcoming general election (November 1859) by selling their policy to a public sensitive to the national and local debates. Some of the most heated disputes, aside from slavery, centered on "where loyalties rightly belonged," political reform (the American Party was losing favor), protection against change, and the city and country conflicts.[26]

When the slaveholders met in June, the extent of their conflicting opinions on slavery was apparent from the onset. With representatives from every county present, the speakers on the opening day, including chairman Judge Mason, felt the need to set the tenor. Mason in his opening remarks called for "temperance" throughout the session and maintained that on the subject of slavery, unlike religion and politics with fewer but commonly held discords, "every man had his own theory." Following these comments, the Honorable James Alfred Pearce of Kent County echoed Mason's sentiments and proposed that a committee on resolutions be appointed to receive proposals and that no other reports outside of this body should be "considered and reported on" in the assembly. The convention adopted his motion and selected twenty-one delegates to serve on this committee, including Jacobs. On the first day of a two-day conference, the convention officers implemented the initial proceedings, accepted numerous resolutions, and then adjourned until the following day.[27]

On the second day the Committee on Resolutions indicated that all proposals had been read and considered, however, two primary issues dominated their time—the proposed expulsion of free blacks within the state and the need to give "vitality and vigor" to the act of 1831, an ineffective law that contained provisions to restrict manumissions. Nonetheless, in spite of a two-day session, the committee could not come to a consensus on these primary issues, and, as result, its members presented a majority and minority report to the convention's conferees. Jacobs, as before, offered the minority point of view. First, he called for the "termination of free negroism in Maryland at an early day, and on the most advantageous terms to our white population." For blacks willing to relinquish their freedoms, the state

would give them the opportunity to select their masters or mistresses and those who did not comply by a certain time period would be forced to leave the state or "they and their posterity [would be] sold for life to our citizens." Second, all blacks, whether bound or apprenticed, who were under term agreements, would be subject to the same aforementioned provisions at the end of their service. Third, "an efficient black police system" would manage "all classes of negroes, slaves as well as free till the latter becomes extinct in the State." Fourth, as an appeasement for the small slaveholder or renter, Jacobs asserted that slaveholders who possessed a substantial number of slaves (the amount was not specified) would not be eligible to buy conscript slaves. Moreover, conscript slaves would be available at low prices and payments could be given in installments. Finally, in light of the aforementioned resolutions, a "prudent discrimination should be made in the case of meritorious and aged free negroes." A less stringent majority report followed. These delegates



Horses, Mules, &c., for Sale.

THE subscriber respectfully informs his friends and the public generally that he has at all times on hand and for sale, a *LARGE NUMBER OF HORSES AND MULES*, which he offers to his friends on the most accommodating terms. He also desires to purchase

Forty or Fifty Likely Negroes,

for whom the highest cash market prices will be given. Those having such to dispose of would do well to give me a call, or address me at Seventh Street, Washington City, D. C.

JAMES H. SHREVE,
Seventh Street,
Washington, D. C.

Washington, May 11, 1859—tf

Slaves often appeared with livestock in auction notices and classified ads. (Planter Advocate and Southern Maryland Advertiser, *June 15, 1859.*)

maintained that a general policy to rid the state of free blacks would not be in the best interest of the state because they supplied the labor for a number of industries, and that a "great body of the people of Maryland . . . would not tolerate it." Therefore, the majority delegates called for the reinforcement of the existing statutes, particularly the act of 1831, "that they [free blacks] may be orderly, industrious, and productive." This act, given its numerous provisions, would suffice to reduce the number of free blacks and diminish "the evils that proceed [ed] from an excessive and increasing free class." The majority delegates also advised that the law should be reviewed and amended, if necessary, to make it effective. Finally, they recommended the appointment of a committee to submit the views of the convention to the General Assembly.[28]

At the conclusion of the majority report, a lively discussion ensued on how to manage an indispensable source of labor. Every delegate knew that blacks supplied the labor for a significant portion of the business sector throughout the region. Besides the agricultural industry, blacks worked in the maritime trades as semi-skilled artisans and laborers supplying the shipyards and docks with caulkers, draymen, wagoners, carters, and deliverers. Blacks also worked as laborers for the railroad and many black women served as domestics. One of the convention's delegates, James Alfred Pearce, claimed, "The removal of free Negroes would deduct nearly fifty percent from the household and agricultural labor furnished by the people of color . . . [and] would produce a great discomfort and inconvenience."[29] To resolve the dispute, some delegates suggested gradual emancipation, but the majority of the conferees did not agree. Instead, they opted to end manumissions. The discussion ended with a rejection of the minority report. A motion was made to accept the resolutions as stated in the majority report and their opinion prevailed.[30]

Beyond the economic impracticality of enslaving all blacks, slaveholders also knew that free blacks would resist the enactment of this measure. At an early point in Maryland's history, free blacks joined forces in the fight for equality and the preservation of their freedoms. They formed benevolent and political societies and petitioned the legislature. Also to thwart the efforts of the colonization movement, Baltimore's free blacks in the 1830s became members of the black national convention movement. Then, in the 1850s as their freedoms began to deteriorate, free blacks held conventions and meetings in Baltimore to discuss their options. These years of meeting and galvanizing community forces to effect change served as groundwork for impeding the re-enslavement movement that Jacobs headed. To counter this attempt, free blacks formed interracial coalitions with white sympathizers, most of them city religious leaders and laymen. These religious leaders, at the prompting of black ministers, petitioned lawmakers in 1858 stating that they were "not prepared to acquiesce" to the convention's [slaveholders'] "spirit." Likewise, in the rural areas, many free blacks had ties to whites who patronized their services, and these employers, as part of the 1832 emancipation agreement, became

advocates of their workers' character and sense of duty. As expected, these patrons, some of whom were former owners, regarded the proposed enslavement terms as cruel and needless.[31]

Still, in spite of this setback, Jacobs remained resolute on the issue of black enslavement, and his leadership on the matter served him well. In the months following the convention, the Southern-rights Democrats swept the state's November election and gained control of both houses of the assembly, a loss that has been, in part, attributed to John Brown's raid. To the credit of the proslavery campaign, however, a large number of representatives from the counties of southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore gained more than half of the assembly's seats. Additionally, many of the "most vocal members" of the minority faction at the Baltimore convention sat among the elected including Jacobs. In 1860, at age 45, he became an official member of the House of Delegates and received an appointment as the chairman of the Committee on [the] Colored Population, a committee comprised of wealthy men who, with the exception of one, owned slaves. When this 253rd session of the Maryland General Assembly met on January 4, 1860, it not only "grappled with the question of Maryland's proper relations with the rest of the union," it also struggled with its own sectional issues.[32]

With the number of free blacks approaching the slave totals and John Brown's raid still troubling the minds of many citizens, legislators, within days, received petitions from a slaveholders' lobbying committee and from several of the southern Maryland and Eastern Shore counties. These citizens pressured lawmakers "to make manumissions difficult and to reduce the number of free Negroes presently living in Maryland."[33] The delegates responded quickly. On February 1, 1860, Jacobs, the chairman of the Committee on [the] Colored Population, answered their pleas by giving a report before the House of Delegates. He maintained that "nothing short of an ultimate extinguishment of the free negro element will cure the evils we labor under or meet the emergencies besetting the peculiar condition of Maryland." He justified this action with his argument on the "common good" and maintained that free blacks must be "held in complete subordination to the citizen population, and made to work under the direction and control of our citizens."[34] To enforce this plan, Jacobs and his fellow committeemen offered proposals even more radical than the ones proposed at the 1858 and 1859 slaveholders' conventions. They called for legislative proscriptions and a monitoring system. According to historian Christopher Phillips, these proposals were largely Jacobs's work, and the committee submitted them as a bill. It, then, became known as the Jacobs bill and included the following recommendations.[35] First, all future manumissions of free blacks would be forbidden and blacks who were presently free would become enslaved and made to hire themselves out for renewable terms of ten years. But "children under the age of twelve would be bound out until age thirty-five," and any children born to mothers under these terms "would become the property of the owner of the mothers' term."

Second, any free black who failed to leave the state under prior manumission agreements would not only have their freedom revoked, but also their children's freedom. Finally, Phillips contends that additional stipulations were mostly written to suppress the free black population of Baltimore. One term prohibited free blacks from either owning or acquiring land and stipulated that "should any free negro refuse so to sell and convey, the county commissioners, or mayor of Baltimore shall do it, and apply the proceeds to the school fund."[36]

Until this point, the efforts of Marylanders to restrict manumissions paralleled those of citizens in other southern states, however, the proposal within the Jacobs bill would rank Maryland alone, as no other legislative committee in the nation had introduced terms as prohibitive as these. Yet, no other slave state had as many free blacks as Maryland. A comparison of the 1850 and 1860 censuses revealed a remarkable trend. It showed a doubling in manumissions that reflected a significant decline in the actual numbers of slaves, from almost 90,368 to 87,189 and a marked increase in the numbers of free blacks, from 74,723 to 83,922. The "sheer abundance of free blacks" presented an immense threat to both the ideological and economic base of the slave order. To counter this dilemma, Jacobs and his supporters took a proactive stance by insisting on the enslavement of all blacks for life, an "effective" system, if accepted, that would provide a guaranteed labor force and a strengthening of the slaveholders' primacy.[37]

When the delegates of the house began the debate on the committee's bill, Jacobs championed the cause of slavery with a well-prepared and lengthy argument. He reiterated many of the same comments made at the slaveholders' conventions, but in his speech before the delegates, an assembly of members with conflicting interests, he tactfully centered his case on three themes—the design of the nation's laws, the failings of the capitalist economy, and the detrimental cost of having free blacks in the state. First, after stating that slavery must be maintained because "our lives, peace and property all hang upon this issue," he claimed that the free "Negro" corrupted the social and moral elements of the people of Maryland. For example, he argued that slaves were "happy and contented" before free blacks became "too numerous." Jacobs also pointed to the overwhelming number of free blacks who comprised the black population of the state's penitentiary—out of a total of 134 free and enslaved blacks, 122 were freedmen. He then complained of their cost to the state in taxes. Second, Jacobs claimed that the authors of the "Declaration of Independence made no provisions for the freedom of the slaves" and neither did the authors of the "Federal Constitution," and therefore, free blacks, who were already in an unprotected and undefined position, would lose "nothing by any disposition [that] the State may make of him." To advance his argument for the bill, Jacobs recounted the numerous failed laws to check the growth of free blacks including the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 (which he declared worthless) and denounced the North for not "restoring Frederick Douglass to his rightful owner." Finally, he in-

St Martins P. O. Worcester County,
Maryland; Jan 15— 1866

Hon. J. A. J. Creswell
U. S. Senate

My Dear Sir; Allow me to address you familiarly, for you have done me favors in the past which I can never forget. As to our political differences, let them exist in principle, not in personalities. By the way, I have just finished reading the life of President Lincoln, with the many eulogies pronounced by orators & divines, after his death. My mind of him was made up before; and the short sentence in your letter a year past helped me to it — wherein, upon your assurance, he "peremptorily ordered the release of my son". That gave me a clew to his inner man. He was a man of warm and generous impulses, and as such, I could like him, and yet differ with him in politics. But if President Lincoln could rise from the dead fifty years hence and see the havoc his emancipation policy had made with the sons of Ham, he would regret his own acts and would not do it again — such are my convictions of their fate as free — such my judgment of his warm & humane nature. The fate of the Indian is the fate of the free negro in this country. Not long hence, with Bryant they will say: They waste us; ah, like April snow in the warm noon we melt away; And swift they hollow as we go towards the setting day.

John Angel James Creswell (1828–1891). (Maryland Historical Society.); and Jacobs to Creswell, January 15, 1866. (Maryland Historical Society.)

formed the assembly of the pitfalls of a market-driven economy and warned that poor whites would become "a peasantry of servile labor" for the wealthier class in a capitalist system. And as a consequence, poor whites would lose some of the most fundamental rights of democracy, including the rights to participate in government and to hold property.[38]

Jacobs concluded his speech with an impassionate and fear-provoking plea. He forewarned, "to not legislate will cost your life every man now has an enemy in his own house, neighborhood, and abolitionism has school[ed] them to it;" and he stressed that their security lay in the passage of the bill, a measure that would prevent servile insurrection by eliminating free "negroism."[39]

The public reaction to the Jacobs bill was unfavorable and swift and newspapers across the state presented opinions that condemned the bill as "severe and oppressive." Even proslavery newspapers that advocated strict laws for free blacks viewed the measures as being too stern. The *Easton Star* (Talbot County) proclaimed the terms as "extraordinary" and indicated that the citizens of that county were generally against passage of the bill. The *Democratic Alleganian* (Allegany County) denounced the proposals and claimed them to be "severe and oppression legislation...dangerous alike to our political condition and industrial prosperity." Correspondingly, a Baltimore representative to the *Weekly Anglo-American*, a New York-based paper, reported the hostile response of Baltimore's politically active free black community. The reporter revealed that within days after Jacobs's debate, the city's leading black barbers obtained 1,000 signatures on a petition to oppose the Jacobs bill. Also, churches served as meeting places for forums and as sites to discuss a course of action. In fact, at one of these churches, the activists established a protection society for the sole purpose of crafting measures to contest the Jacobs bill. During one of their meetings, the membership selected George Hackett, a leading African American with a long history of community activism and entrepreneurship.[40]

Following his election, Hackett and Reverend John M. Brown (pastor of the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church) met with Jacobs at the Banner Hotel in Baltimore City. According to one account, Jacobs requested the meeting with the intent of gaining African American community support for his plan by persuading its leaders. Jacobs supposed that a dialogue with leaders of the black community would prove the benefits of his bill and ultimately the yielding of their opposition. Needless to say, after a contentious discussion, the meeting ended in an impasse.[41]

Jacobs encountered additional opposition in the House of Delegates. The legislators could not fully accept the severity of the proposed legislation and in its place crafted two moderate bills that replicated portions of the Jacobs bill. One proposal prohibited future manumissions and another required free blacks to go before a board to give proof of employment—failure to do so would expose them to public auction. Additionally, the legislature stipulated the application of these terms to certain Eastern Shore and southern Maryland counties and specified that its

citizens would determine the acceptance of this proposal in a popular referendum during the upcoming November elections. When the fall elections occurred, the electorate rejected the bill, primarily because of the "policy of no emancipation and reinforced slavery." Jacobs's plan to enslave all blacks came to an end and no more was heard of the bill. The surrounding quandary, however, raises questions of why slaveholders could not come to a consensus on the free black question and why Jacobs maintained a decade-long effort to enslave all blacks in spite of his failure to gain agreement among his colleagues?[42]

Historian Barbara Jeanne Fields in *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* purports that the free black question was unsolvable in Maryland as long as "neither of the contradictory elements, free blacks or slaves, could be eliminated," and she claimed that any attempt to rid incongruities revealed yet another. The majority of slaveholders had little interest in the "ultimate extinguishment" of free blacks and most viewed the concept as "impolitic and inexpedient," given that blacks supplied an essential service and held no civil rights. For that reason, most slaveholders perceived the hiring of white agricultural workers as a greater threat to the institution of slavery considering their lack of interest in the subject and entitlement to vote, a liberty that might eventually allow them to shape the future of slavery. Even so, in spite of the popularity of this claim, Jacobs disagreed with the likelihood of its occurrence.[43] Additionally, he apparently miscalculated the significance of class conflict in his effort to resolve the free black question.

Similarly, historian Ira Berlin in *Slaves without Masters: the Free Negro in the Antebellum South* expounds on the plight of the southern slaveholder and gives insight into the pursuit of black enslavement. In his findings, he discloses several enslavement arguments that other southern ideologues posited in the 1850s, and the parallels to Jacobs's discourse are noticeable. The *Nashville Union and American*, for example, reported the comments of a Tennessee legislator who exclaimed, "The responsibilities of freedom are too great for them . . . hence the man that emancipates his slave entails upon him a curse." According to Berlin, these proslavery southerners adopted an amalgam of arguments espousing the "positive good" of slavery. This theory, which originated in the Lower South and gained impetus by mid-century, was based on the premise that slavery "makes for the best of all possible societies" not "free labor." It also served to ease the conscience of southerners who doubted the value of slavery. These theorists aimed to prevent the destabilization of slavery and temper the North/South conflict by employing several measures. These measures included the stabilization of slavery in the Upper South (by prohibiting manumissions and eliminating the free black population), the spread of racial solidarity on the premise of black slavery, and the promotion of white Southern democracy in hopes of gaining the support of non-slaveholders.[44]

Without a doubt, Jacobs embraced these themes and promoted the "positive good

theory" apparently to the point of becoming virtually insolvent. In an 1866 letter to United States Senator John Angel James Creswell of Maryland, Jacobs claimed that most of his "property was in slaves" and due to "military coercion" he had lost ninety-four slaves, fifty-six in Maryland (his wife's bequeathal) and thirty-eight hired out in Alabama. Asking for counsel on how to obtain federal compensation presumably for recruited and emancipated slaves, Jacobs maintained that he lost private property . . . that was used for public benefit. Although the outcome of his request is not known, this letter and his diary accounts speak to an unswerving Maryland planter situated in a society that had undergone rapid transition as he experienced a speculation that took a sour turn.[45]

In all, this study unveils the effort of one man's decade-long defense of the institution of slavery, not by means of physical force, but through the attempted enactment of laws designed to eliminate the civil liberties of free blacks, and for that reason, this examination is instructive. It shows how a select few can abuse the law to gain an end. If the Jacobs bill had been ratified, he and his supporters would have produced a political coup for wealthy slaveholders and gained control of one of the largest labor pools in the state, in effect a monopoly, not the white Southern democracy that Jacobs had touted. However, this did not to happen in a state with a diverse and reformed economy. Beyond the political side of Jacobs's legacy, this review also brings to light the mindset of the architect behind this legislative plan, which becomes most evident in the examination of his diary and speeches. In his diary, Jacobs recorded detailed and intimate thoughts about his actions including the transport of his slaves to Alabama, his justification for slavery, and duties as a planter; all of which underscores his fidelity to a Southern ethos. His insistence on Maryland as an ally to the "sister".southern states is further identified in his speeches. Taken as a whole, these findings not only build on what is known about Jacobs, but they also point to the histories that are embedded within his personal account. They include the early civil rights struggle of blacks and the efforts of legalized racial segregation in Maryland, and a local record of a rural people—slaveholders and non-slaveholders and free and enslaved blacks—for whom slavery and the transition to modernization shaped their lives.

Negroes
Enlisted in the war

James — aged 34 years 400
Major — " " 32 do 400
Jesse — " " 30 do — 400
Jenkins " — 28 do 400
Lewis — " — 22 do 400
Peter — " — 18 do — 250
Frost — " — 18 do — 250
Henry — " — 40 do — 400
Edmond — " — 22 do 160
Isma — " — 50 do 160
Isaac — " — 22 do — 400
George — " — 18 do — 250
John — " — 16 — do — 250.
William " — 18 do — $250.
Jake — " — 48 do 160

Dead
George aged — 44 — 400
4930

Born
infant — Hagar $50.
infant — Susan — 50 — 100
$4830 to be struck off

Jan 12 — 1864 $
as it this day stands
amt of Personal

Jacobs, near insolvency by the end of the war, sought compensation for the slaves he had lost to "military coercion." (Maryland Historical Society.)

Notes

1. Joseph Arnold and Anirban Basu, *Maryland Old Line to New Prosperity* (Sun Valley, Florida: American Historical Press, 2003), 49–51; Barbara Jeanne Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground Maryland during the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 4–6, 24, 70–81; for details on the complexities surrounding the dissolution of slavery in Maryland see page 24; William W. Freehling, *The South vs. The South: How Anti-Confederate Southerners Shaped the Course of the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 2001), 18–19; See Freehling's discussion on the drain of slaves from the Northern regions to the south during the cotton boom; Christopher Phillips, *Freedom's Port the African American Community of Baltimore, 1790–1860* (Urbana, Il: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 27.

2. Edward C. Papenfuse, et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland an Historical List of Public Officials of Maryland* (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, 1990), I: 330; Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 205–206; James M. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland 1634–1860* (New York: Octagon Books, 1971), 306; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 79–80; and Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: the Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: New Press, 1974), 208–11.

3. Jeffrey R. Brackett, *The Negro in Maryland: A Study of the Institution of Slavery* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1889), 236–46; see his discussion on the 1842 slaveholder's convention in Annapolis; Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 207–11; and Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland a Middle Temperament 1634–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 212.

4. United States Census Records of Worcester County Maryland, Berlin District, July 25, 1860, microfilm p. 655, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, Maryland Historical Society hereafter referred to as MdHS; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 4–5, 18–19, 83; Vivian Wiser, "Improving Maryland's Agriculture, 1840–1850," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 64 (1969): 128–29, hereinafter cited *MdHM*; and Jacobs's Diary and Account Book, 1854–1866, C. W. Jacobs Collection, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, MdHS, and C.W. Jacobs to J. A. J. Creswell, January 15, 1866, Jacobs Collection. Jacobs noted in his diary that a large number of his slaves were hired out. See the conclusion of this paper regarding his wife's bequeathal of slaves.

5. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 5, 10, 19; William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances Maryland from 1850–1861* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 7, 9–10, 136.

6. Curtis Washington Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question in Maryland: Slavery and Free Negroism Incompatible: The Doctrine of Equality Exposed and Refuted* (Baltimore: John W. Woods Printer, 1859), 12–15.

7. Arnold, *Maryland Old Line to New Prosperity*, 49–51.

8. Jacobs Diary and Account Book; Kate Clifford Larson, *Bound for the Promised Land: Harriet Tubman, Portrait of an American Hero* (New York: The Random House Publishing Group, 2004), 15; see Larson's discussion on the selling of Maryland slaves to the Lower South; and Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2005), 221–21. Wilentz recounts the boom of cotton and the spread of its boundaries in the Lower South region. Jacobs noted the size and costs of Alabama properties in his diary. He also listed for three consecutive years, in dated columns, the full names of the renters preceded by Mr. or Mrs., and adjacent to their name a single

name for his slave and/or slaves and the profit of their labor. This documentation is telling in regard to Jacobs's mindset. He clearly viewed enslaved people as beings of a lesser rank in daily life lacking in social and political equality. Also, he seemed to have an established naming pattern for his slaves: apparently using Old Testament names at first and later giving the slaves European names.

9. Jacobs Diary and Account Book. Jacobs begins his diary by indicating on the endpaper that "This book tells about my slaves who went to the war: also about those set free under military coercion in all 48 head." The book begins in 1854 and tells about an addition to his home. The next entry begins in 1856 with a reflection on the year before. This is followed by a listing of hired-out slaves in Alabama from 1856 until 1859. He resumes writing during the Civil War and indicates a loss of fifteen slaves due to recruitment. Jacobs continued slave holding until the emancipation of Maryland slaves in 1864. The writing and timing of Jacobs's diary appears intentional and tied to an effort to receive compensation for his financial loss in slaves. The exact number of slaves owned by Jacobs throughout his life time is not known. His personal accounting is unclear and inconsistent.

10. John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans Volume One: From the Beginnings Through Reconstruction* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1998), 142; Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Random House, 1974), 496–97; http://tafkac.org/ death/baby.smothering/slave_infanticide.html, October 12, 2007, The AFU Urban Legend Archive, Death Baby Smothering, Slave Infanticide; John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the Plantation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11–12, 16; T. Stephen Whitman, *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake: Black and White Resistance to Human Bondage, 1775–1865* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society), see this work for additional forms of resistance to slavery.

11. Larson, *Bound for the Promised Land*, 144–45, 130–35, 300–302. Larson maintains that Tubman was part of a vast underground network manned by whites and blacks throughout the Eastern Shore. Although Tubman returned to the Eastern Shore from 1855–1860 to rescue relatives and friends, she often gave escape instructions to freedom seekers who fled the Eastern Shore without her; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 63–65.

12. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 65–67, 70.

13. Jacobs Diary and Account Book; Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question in Maryland*, 2; *The Sun* (Baltimore), November 6, 1858; and *The Planter's Advocate and Southern Maryland Advertiser* (Upper Marlboro, Maryland), November, 17, 1858.

14. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 70.

15. Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question*, 2.

16. Ibid., 4–5.

17. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 3–7; see part 1: paternalism.

18. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 343–34; Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question*, 12–13, 15–16; and Phillips, "Introduction," *Freedom's Port*, 3.

19. Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question*, 27–28.

20. Ibid., 13, 18, 28.

21. *The Sun* (Baltimore), November 6, 1858; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, see the final quote, 68; and Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question*, 13.

22. Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question*, 13, 20. Jacobs noted these comments in his letter to the editor of the *State's Rights Advocate*. Jacobs was instrumental in the selection of Baltimore as a convention site. He believed the meeting's agenda would draw statewide attention to the need of laborers in the industry of agriculture.

23. Ibid.; Jacobs's title of colonel needs further exploring; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 72.
24. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 72–73.
25. Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question*, 1. The letter was initially published in the *State's Rights Advocate* and subsequently in the form of a pamphlet.
26. Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland*, 306; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 7, 118–21; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*; and Jacobs, *The Free Negro Question*, 20.
27. *The Sun* (Baltimore), June 10, 1859; *American and Commercial Advertiser* (Baltimore) June 10, 1859; the *Planter's Advocate and Southern Maryland Advertiser* (Upper Marlboro, Maryland), June 15, 1859.
28. Ibid.
29. M. Ray Della Jr., "The Problems of Negro Labor in the 1850s," *MdHM*, 66 (1971): 14–32; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 25; and Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 25.
30. *The Sun* (Baltimore), June 10, 1859.
31. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 330, 357, 359–60; Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 232–33; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 85–86; Whitman, *Challenging Slavery in the Chesapeake*, 141–44; and Bettye Collier Thomas, "*The Baltimore Black Community, 1865–1910*" (Ph. D. diss., The George Washington University, 1974), 139–41.
32. Carl N. Everstine, *The General Assembly of Maryland 1850–1920* (Charlottesville, Va.: The Michie Company Law Publishers, 1984), 630. Everstine, unlike Evitts, notes the General Assembly session number as 267; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 118–29, 134–35; Ralph A. Wooster, "The Membership of the Maryland Legislature of 1861," *MdHM*, 56 (1961), 99–102; Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 207; and Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 76–77.
33. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 136.
34. Phillips, quoted in *Freedom's Port*, 207.
35. Ibid., 208–209; Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 136–37.
36. Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 208, 291; only Phillips's account indicates that the final terms are designed to limit Baltimore's blacks; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 69, 76–82; and Wright, *The Free Negro in Maryland*, 315. Wright's account is not as detailed as the other historians, but it is valuable for continued research on this subject.
37. Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 15, 208; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 84, 87; and Brugger *Maryland a Middle Temperament*, 268.
38. Colonel Curtis Washington Jacobs, "The Free Colored Population of Maryland," House of Delegates, February 17, 1860, H. Furlong Library, MdHS, 6, 8, 10–12, 16–17; James H. Cook, "Douglass and Antislavery Violence," in *Frederick Douglass*, ed. John R. McKivigan (San Diego, Ca.: Green Haven Press, 2004), 76–87. See Cook's discussion of Douglass's association with John Brown, the purchase of his freedom, as well the editor's chronological ordering of events in the life of Douglass; Wilentz, *The Rise to American Democracy*, 648–49; see Wilentz's comments on the effectiveness of the Fugitive Slave Law.
39. Ibid., 12–13, 32.
40. Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 233–34; Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 81.
41. Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 233; Leroy Graham, *Baltimore: The Nineteenth Century Black Capital* (Washington, D. C.: University Press of America, Inc., 1982), 136, 148–49, 155–59, 178, Graham provides details on George Hackett's background and the location of the meeting with Jacobs.
42. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiances*, 1, 137; Phillips, *Freedom's Port*, 233–34; and Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 82.

43. Fields, *Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground*, 84, 86, 88; *The Sun* (Baltimore), June 10, 1859; and *American and Commercial Advertiser* (Baltimore), June 10, 1859.
44. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 368, 370, 377–80; Genovese, *The Political Economy of Slavery Studies in the Economy and Society of the Slave South* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 28–29.
45. C. W. Jacobs to J. A. J. Creswell, January 15, 1866, C. W. Jacobs Collection, H. Furlong Baldwin Library, MdHS. Jacobs's letter, coupled with his 1856 reflective diary accounts of slave resistance on his farm. Also, the recordings of slave totals in his diary correspond, more or less, with his notation to Creswell. Both accounts, however, conflict with the 1860 census schedule. In terms of slave loss, Jacobs's 1864 diary entry shows that he lost fifteen slaves because of military recruitment and forty due to the enactment of Maryland's emancipation law; Brugger, *Maryland a Middle Temperament*, 300–302. See Brugger's discussion on the reaction of Maryland slaveholders to the Emancipation Proclamation and the subject of compensation, M. W. W. "Creswell, John Angel James." *Dictionary of American Biography,* Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930). This source indicates that Creswell was a partisan politician despite his switch in party affiliation. As a senator, he stood for general emancipation and the compensation of loyal owners of drafted slaves.

"A Veil of Voodoo": George P. Mahoney, Open Housing, and the 1966 Governor's Race

Richard Hardesty

When George P. Mahoney died in March 1989, Maryland Attorney General J. Joseph Curran Jr. noted that "[Mahoney] was the last of those very larger than life figures in Baltimore politics."[1] Curran's comment highlighted Mahoney's political prominence, although his statement narrowed the regional scope of his importance. A perennial candidate who ran for elected office ten times from 1950 to 1974, nine of which were for state or national office, Mahoney stood as a well-known figure in Maryland politics.[2] He never won elected office, but, as a tremendous vote-getter, his opponents had to factor in the ramifications of a Mahoney campaign. For example, Governor William Preston Lane narrowly escaped Mahoney's attempt to unseat him in the 1950 Democratic gubernatorial primary. Lane, however, was so badly wounded that he lost to Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin in the general election. Despite Mahoney's importance to Maryland politics, he has so far escaped an in-depth historical examination. The 1966 governor's race represented Mahoney's most notorious campaign. His stand against open housing defined the election and offers an opportunity for a deeper look into this legendary figure.

Although Spiro T. Agnew won the 1966 governor's race, Mahoney represented the campaign's central figure. He based his entire campaign on his opposition to open housing. Espoused in the slogan, "Your Home is Your Castle—Protect It," Mahoney capitalized on the growing white backlash to narrowly win the Democratic nomination in September 1966. At a time when crime, tax reform, and a new constitution represented Maryland's most pressing issues, Mahoney focused the public's attention on open housing, turning the national issue of civil rights into the primary focus of a statewide campaign. Agnew called Mahoney's position "a veil of voodoo" designed to distract the public from their social responsibilities and from pertinent campaign issues.[3] Although Mahoney effectively used a hot-button issue to his advantage, he was far from a savvy politician. He made numerous mistakes

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George P. Mahoney (1901–1989) ran for state and national office nine times and never won an election. Popular among Maryland voters, however, his participation in these races often created divisions in the Democratic Party. (Maryland Historical Society.)

during the campaign which called into question his competency. Not only did he refuse to debate Agnew and independent candidate Hyman A. Pressman, but he also waivered under pressure on gun control. Most of all, Mahoney's rigid opposition to open housing proved too short-sighted. The issue enabled Mahoney to capture the Democratic nomination yet his opposition effectively split the Democrats and positioned Agnew to win the race.

Early Years

Mahoney grew up in an Irish ghetto in East Baltimore. Born on December 16, 1901, he was the youngest of William and Matilda Mahoney's eleven children. Young George exhibited the drive and determination that would one day make him a successful businessman. One journalist remarked that Mahoney represented "the type of an Irishman who won't be happy until he rates a high silk hat." Mahoney's family background helped explain his determination and drive. Growing up, he lived in a family of meager means and his father once told him "the only thing I'm going to leave you is a good name." In response, this youngest child displayed an unrelenting work ethic. George P. Mahoney Jr. noted that his father worked long hours in various businesses. Mahoney operated lemonade stands and worked in the pool halls as a means of making and saving money. Still, by the time he finished the eighth grade, he did not have enough money to continue with his education. Consequently, he set out for New York City. Mahoney's life appeared headed nowhere when serendipity intervened.[4]

In New York, Mahoney had the good fortune of making an influential acquaintance under strange circumstances. He was working as a bellhop at the Waldorf Astoria when, on one evening, he came across a lonely drunk. As Mahoney told the story, "I asked him who he was and why he drank so much. He said he was a Columbia professor who turned to drink because he was penniless." Mahoney took the man in and helped him with money and food until he could get back on his feet. Ultimately, the Columbia professor straightened out after a month. The incident, however, changed the Baltimorean's life. When the Columbia professor won a job working construction on the New York subway, he brought in Mahoney who worked his way up from waterboy to time punch operator and ultimately to draftsman. Furthermore, he saved enough money to take a few college courses at the New York School of Engineering. The experience Mahoney gained in New York helped him considerably.[5]

Returning home in 1921, Mahoney brought his brothers together and eventually established a successful paving and asphalt company. They started out with $1,500, of which they spent approximately $1,400 for five trucks at a U.S. Army Auction at Fort Holabird. From there, the Mahoney brothers operated a towing company as well as a sand and gravel company. Business grew; so much so, Mahoney once noted that "[w]ithin the next ten years I had 23 trucks and a big enough business to retire right then." However, Mahoney did not stop. He and his brothers started

a paving business known as Mahoney Brothers and an asphalt company known as Mahoney Asphalt. In 1938 they cracked the Baltimore City paving ring and business prospered. By 1950, Mahoney Brothers was one of the largest paving firms in the Baltimore metropolitan area. According to several reports, the paving business alone netted a million dollars annually—and with financial wealth, Mahoney began participating in various charities and civic activities.[6]

Mahoney believed he had a duty to give back to the community through charity and community service. George P. Mahoney Jr. stated that his father's charitable and civic activities were rooted "in the spirit of giving back. [He] came from meager means [and] wanted to help people." For example, when a severe snow storm hit Cumberland and other isolated parts of Western Maryland, Mahoney obtained tractor trailers, stocked them with potatoes and other food stuffs, and shipped goods to the areas affected by the storm. He also used his business knowledge to help the charities of great importance to him. Mahoney "served as chairman of the Damon Runyon Memorial Cancer Fund and for the American Cancer Society." His efforts enabled both groups to break fundraising records. Furthermore, Mahoney took his business and fundraising skills to help Provident Hospital in Baltimore City. The *Baltimore Sun* praised him as a man whose "civic and charitable contributions were genuine." As Mahoney gave back to the community, he actively pursued his love of horses.[7]

Horses represented a life-long passion and over the years Mahoney acquired a well-respected stable of horses. As he told Paul Broderick, "I guess I became fascinated by horses soon as I was old enough to recognize one." When he saved up enough money as an adult, he purchased two Shetland ponies and boarded them in a make-shift stable in the back of his house. Several years later, Mahoney purchased five more horses at a Pimlico auction, even though one horseman warned of the horses' lame condition. Although he agreed with the horseman's assessment, he set out to strengthen their legs and had significant success. Two of the horses, Won Won and Chief Of All, went on to race again and the other three could still be used for pleasure riding. In all, Mahoney developed a well-regarded stable of horses. One horse, Clearview Maybelle, sold for a then-Maryland record of $26,000, while other horses like Copperhead won numerous awards within the horse-show circuit. Mahoney had a significant amount of knowledge regarding horses, which helped garner an appointment to the Maryland Racing Commission.[8]

Receiving an appointment to the Racing Commission by his boyhood friend, Governor Herbert O'Conor, Mahoney set out to clean up the seedy aspects of Maryland racing. He recalled, Maryland "had all kinds of troubles in racing. The horse people were using drugs to stimulate horses. . . . It was very promiscuous." Consequently, by the time Mahoney became chairman of the commission in 1945, he set out to initiate reforms, including a receiving barn where the first place horse received a drug test and a urinalysis (the second and third place horses received a drug test). Second, Mahoney, with the help of veterinarians, instituted a nerve de-

tector to determine whether a horse had been de-nerved. Mahoney's term also saw him break-up a jockey and trainer ring that rigged horse races. In fact, he recalled stopping mobsters as they attempted to substitute Don't Delay as a ringer for All Flo. Lastly, Mahoney placed greater burdens on the individual race tracks, insisting that they be in good condition for the bettors of Maryland. George P. Mahoney, Jr. noted that his father's goal had been to restore the integrity of Maryland racing. However, in the process, Mahoney's policies met with stiff resistance.[9]

Horsemen and critics responded to Mahoney's actions with protests, scorn, and claims of ulterior motives. During Mahoney's tenure as chairman, he angered horsemen to the point where some snubbed him personally or resigned in protest. He also angered race track managers who bore the burden of improving the racing plant. One of the most notable protests, however, came from the Horsemen's Benevolent and Protective Association (H.B.P.A.). In the fall of 1946, in response to the implementation of the receiving barn, members of the association voted without opposition to withhold their horses from Laurel Park race track. The move had great significance—90 ninety percent of Maryland's horsemen had membership in the H.B.P.A. Meanwhile, critics charged that Mahoney's programs falsely accused horsemen "of race-fixing, horse-doping, bribery, cruelty to animals, and general racketeering on a grand scale." Other critics further charged that Mahoney used the Racing Commission as a means of self-promotion through the use of the newspapers. As Joe Kelly, former racing editor of the *Washington Star*, recalled, "[t]hirty years ago I was inclined to regard [Mahoney] as 80 per cent achievement and 20 per cent fluff and flair. Now I'm inclined to go 50-50 and say a lot of it was malarkey." Not everyone shared these sentiments.[10]

Mahoney and his supporters argued that their programs saved the taxpayers money while also cleaning up the sport. He also recalled that his policies had a positive effect on Maryland taxpayers, noting that they saved $4.5 million in racing funds at a time when the state budget had not reached $100 million. More importantly, Mahoney's supporters claimed that his policies saved Maryland racing, making it a model for other states to follow. They believed Mahoney's programs instilled confidence in the two-dollar bettor disillusioned by the corruption from the big-money racketeers. Moreover, Mahoney's supporters showed that other states had adopted the pre-race and post-race mouse tests, the receiving barns, the uniformed guards, and the racing plant improvements. Over the years, commentators tended to fall in line with Mahoney's supporters. For example, the *News American* stated that Mahoney did an excellent job as a member of the Maryland Racing Commission. Historian Justin P. Coffey further noted that, "[b]y all accounts Mahoney was an exemplary chairman. He rooted out corruption and pressed for much-needed reforms." By 1947, however, incoming Goevernor William Preston Lane did not reappoint him as chairman.[11]

Lane made an ill-timed decision to remove Mahoney from the Racing Commis-

sion, preventing him from receiving a national appointment. By April 1947, reports surfaced that indicated that the new governor decided not to reappoint Mahoney as commissioner, opting instead to appoint Stuart S. Janney Jr. Lane never revealed his reasons for removing Mahoney, although some speculated that he had done his job too well. The now former chairman had a a straightforward explanation, stating that the commissioner, like the commission, served at the request of the governor, and the new governor simply wanted his own person. Nonetheless, Lane's decision came at an inopportune time for Mahoney, who had been seeking a national appointment. Without his position on the Maryland Racing Commission, Mahoney could not receive a national position. Janney's appointment added insult to injury. According to historian Robert J. Brugger, "Mahoney . . . owned expensive farms and judged show horses but did not enjoy Janney's reputation as a rider and breeder." Lane's decision to remove Mahoney would come back to haunt him.[12]

Three years after Lane removed him from the Maryland Racing Commission, Mahoney made his first bid for elected office, running against Lane and his unpopular sales tax in the 1950 Democratic gubernatorial primary. The later years of the 1940s represented a period where the public demanded more services, and Lane responded by providing increased appropriations for education, health facilities, and roads. However, in order to pay for the increased appropriations, Lane led the successful drive for a sales tax. As a result, the public vilified him. "Pennies for Lane" became the angry electorate's battle cry. Throughout the campaign, Mahoney worked to capitalize on the electorate's anger. He attacked Lane and the sales tax, claiming that the sales tax existed because malfeasance existed in Annapolis. If elected, Mahoney promised to clean up the state government and repeal the tax. His efforts partially worked. On the strength of public resentment, Mahoney received 17,582 more votes than Lane. The governor, however, won sixteen out of the state's twenty-four jurisdictions, capturing the unit vote and the nomination. Mahoney lost the primary, but he remained determined to run again.[13]

The 1950 Democratic gubernatorial primary set in motion Mahoney's many attempts for public office, while also providing a boiler plate for his future campaigns. From 1950 to 1962, Mahoney unsuccessfully ran for elected office on six different occasions. He ran for governor in 1950, 1954, and 1962 and in 1952, 1956, and 1958 for the United States Senate. The 1950 campaign provided Mahoney with the initiative to run again. Politically, Mahoney's star rose after receiving more popular votes than Lane, although Lane had the support of almost all the newspapers and political bosses. George P. Mahoney Jr. noted that his father "felt initially that, in 1950, the citizens wanted him." At the same time, the 1950 campaign established trends that characterized Mahoney's future campaigns. He used his personal charm and took the campaign straight to the people, focusing primarily on one issue. Even though he ran one-issue campaigns, Mahoney's charm usually made him a major vote-getter, resulting in narrow defeats as well as splits within the Democratic Party.[14]

Mahoney had the personality that enabled him to get along well with people, and, when campaigning, he employed a method that made the most out of those skills. According to Robert Marsh, "Mahoney was an amiable, soft-spoken, mannerly, even courtly man. People liked him." The Baltimore Sun concurred, noting that his effortless dealings with people made him a natural politician. Consequently, Mahoney went straight to the people when campaigning, adopting a shoe-leather-style campaign that required lots of candidate-voter interaction and he remembered his father as a proponent of this campaign style, wanting to meet as many people as possible. As Mahoney himself recalled, "We'd start out at the plants at 5 AM, shaking hands, and the goal was to shake hands with 5,000 people a day, minimum. We met them at Bethlehem Steel, on the streets, on the farms." Shoe-leather campaigning also illustrated Mahoney's popularity with the people. As George P. Mahoney Jr. recalled, "crowds loved him." The senior Mahoney's personal appeal attracted a loyal bloc of voters that followed him through several losing campaigns.[15]

Mahoney's charm and personal appeal made him a major vote-getter, separating him from other perennial candidates. In fact, historian Kenneth D. Durr noted that Mahoney "was no mere 'perennial' candidate." His popularity with the people often resulted in impressive totals at the polls, although he could never receive enough votes to get elected. For example, after defeating Lansdale G. Sasscer in the 1952 senatorial primary, Mahoney went on to receive 406,370 votes in the general election, the most votes by a Maryland Democrat in a statewide election at that time—yet he lost the race to J. Glenn Beall Sr. Two years later, in the 1954 Democratic gubernatorial primary, Mahoney received 159,230 votes but lost to H. C. "Curly" Byrd. The election had been so close that recounts went on for three months before Byrd officially won. Even though Mahoney lost elections, it was hard to deny his ability to attract voters. People had to factor Mahoney in the elections he entered, "not as a winner, but as an element that might upset the other candidates." Maryland Democrats during the 1950s learned that lesson all too well.[16]

Mahoney's critics often charged that his numerous endeavors for elected office only hurt the Democrats. In 1950 and 1954, his campaigns fractured the party, enabling Theodore R. McKeldin to gain and retain Republican control of the governorship. Mahoney's 1958 Senate campaign against Baltimore Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro Jr. split the party again, enabling Beall to win re-election. Of all Mahoney's Democratic opponents, only Governor J. Millard Tawes survived a brutal primary fight to win a general election. Mahoney's penchant for splitting the Democrats led former advisor Horace "Buff" Elias to note that "[h]e's the best friend the Republican Party ever had in Maryland." Of course, leading Maryland Democrats realized the havoc a Mahoney candidacy caused the party, and they looked for ways to counteract the damage. Party leaders such as D'Alesandro went as far as convincing the ailing former-United States Senator Millard E. Tydings to run for the office in 1956, fearing that Mahoney would "again bring the party defeat." With Tydings, Democratic

leaders felt they had a candidate with the prominence to unseat the incumbent John Marshall Butler. The efforts of party leaders also illustrated their inability to view Mahoney as a serious politician.[17]

Over the course of Mahoney's political career, he gained a reputation for being a political opportunist, trying to capitalize on hot-button issues of public importance. Historian George H. Callcott believed that Mahoney "stood for whatever he thought people wanted but could never figure out what it was." George P. Mahoney Jr. noted that his father focused "on one big thing in a campaign back then," such as opposing the sales tax in 1950. He ran a staunchly anti-communist campaign two years later, going as far as promising to consult with Federal Bureau of Investigation (F.B.I.) Director J. Edgar Hoover regarding the loyalty of his senatorial appointments. In Mahoney's 1962 gubernatorial campaign, he ran as a reformer, promising to rid the state of corruption in light of the recent savings-and-loan scandals. Ultimately, Mahoney's tendency for running one-issue campaigns highlighted his lack of a cohesive political philosophy. As Justin P. Coffey noted, "according to his opponents, Mahoney had not demonstrated any definitive principles, had never articulated a coherent ideology." Mahoney simply picked an issue that highlighted the public's unrest at the time. Nonetheless, his campaigns always met with defeat.[18]

In the face of his political defeats, Mahoney responded with grace and even a bit of humor. One unnamed political observer told *Baltimore Magazine* that he displayed more eloquence in defeat than during a campaign, noting the major stylistic differences between his concession and campaign speeches. For Baltimore City Comptroller Hyman A. Pressman, who worked as an attorney during Mahoney's 1954 gubernatorial campaign, Mahoney taught him a valuable political lesson. Pressman noted that he never forgot "what a gentleman [Mahoney] was when he learned he had lost. The attitude he took, one of gracious defeat, was a real lesson in sportsmanship." Paul J. Reed Jr., Mahoney's campaign manager and confidant, concurred with Pressman's sentiment, noting that defeat never disheartened Mahoney. If anything, defeat gave him comedic inspiration. Mahoney often poked fun at his numerous campaigns and defeats. In 1956, for example, Mahoney supporters could be found wearing buttons which read "Mahoney AGAIN." Grace and humor showed one side of Mahoney, but failed to show his determination as he set out to run for governor again.[19]

By June 1966, Mahoney ended a four-year hiatus by officially declaring his candidacy for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. He had not run for elected office since his defeat in the 1962 gubernatorial primary, and political observers believed that Mahoney had finally thrown in the towel. On June 4, 1966, however, he formally declared his candidacy for the governorship. The 1966 campaign was Mahoney's seventh race and the narrow margins of defeat led him to believe that the public still wanted him, "[a]ll my elections have been narrow escapes. That's why I keep running. If they had been out-and-out defeats, I might have dropped out."

Years later, his son offered a slightly different perspective. He believed that the self-made man "does not give up. They do not take no for an answer." Mahoney hoped his perseverance would pay off in winning that elusive election. In open housing, he believed he had an issue that would help him achieve his objective.[20]

Open housing legislation was the federal government's attempt to further civil rights. By 1966, President Lyndon B. Johnson insisted on another civil rights bill to follow the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The proposed 1966 civil rights bill included a provision calling for non-discrimination in jury selection. Furthermore, the bill gave the United States Attorney General the authority to initiate desegregation lawsuits in education and public accommodations. Title IV of the 1966 civil rights bill prohibited discrimination in the sale or renting of all housing. Ultimately, Title IV met with several amendments that weakened the open housing plank. One amendment, for example, allowed brokers to discriminate provided they had written consent of the owner. Nonetheless, as *Time* declared, President Johnson's bill "sought to right some blatant wrongs." The House of Representatives passed the bill by a vote of 259 to 157, but the bill eventually died in the Senate.[21]

The Civil Rights Act of 1966 came at a time when the public grew increasingly wary of additional civil rights legislation, a product of the urban riots that engulfed the United States. Sixteen days after President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964, riots began in New York after police shot and killed a fifteen-year-old African American named James Powell. Five days after President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Watts erupted in violence. The riots left President Johnson's social legislation susceptible to political attack. Kenneth O'Reilly noted that critics believed liberal reform "would lead to a new permissiveness. In their view black Americans . . . would not earn anything. They would simply be granted things—money, food, jobs, scholarships, affirmative action promises—with predictable results. The work ethic would die." In Maryland, some people held a similar opinion. In a Letter to the Editor of the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, T. Andrew Reilly viewed most Americans as fence riders who did not love or hate African Americans, but only accepted the status quo. Reilly nonetheless noted "the Negro must prove to these 'in betweeners' that he is a capable, hard-working person."[22]

The race riots cooled many Americans to civil rights legislation, but in Maryland, that coolness could also be illustrated by George C. Wallace's showing in the 1964 Maryland presidential primary. After surprising successes in the Wisconsin and Indiana primaries, Wallace entered the Maryland primary warning people of increased federal involvement. Wallace's tone during the Maryland primary had been described as "one of rustic reasonableness and injured piety." Nonetheless, as political commentator Blair Lee IV remarked, the 1964 Maryland primary had strong racial overtones. Wallace, for instance, expressed his opposition to President Johnson's civil rights bill to a group of mostly blue collar workers in Baltimore. If

passed, Wallace argued that "federal officials would soon 'tell an employer who he's got to employ. If a man's got 100 Japanese-Lutherans working for him and there's 100 Chinese-Baptists unemployed, he's got to let some of the Japanese-Lutherans go so he can make room for some of the Chinese-Baptists." Wallace also turned his attention to open housing. As he told people, "[y]ou may want to sell your house to someone with blue eyes and green teeth, and that's all right. I don't object. But you should not be forced to do it. A man's house is his castle." Wallace's words resonated with the people, as illustrated by his strong showing in Maryland.[23]

Even though Wallace lost the Maryland primary, his opposition to increased federal power attracted a sizeable following. He fared poorly in the suburbs of Montgomery County, receiving only twenty-six percent of the vote. Furthermore, Wallace did not fare well in Baltimore City, where African Americans showed up in force to vote for Wallace's main opponent, Senator Daniel B. Brewster. Receiving only thirty-six percent of the vote, Wallace said, "[i]f it hadn't been for the nigger bloc vote, we'd have won it all." Despite the poor showings in Montgomery County and Baltimore City, Wallace won in sixteen of Maryland's twenty-four jurisdictions. He also received forty-three percent of the 501,859 votes cast in the primary. Wallace's success in Maryland had been attributed to his opposition to increased federal power. As George L. Greenwood, general manager of the *Anne Arundel Star*, declared, "[i]t is fear of too much power in the hands of Government, rather than a race question. There also was the home angle. People want to sell their homes to whom they desire, rather than be told, where FHA or GI funds are involved." Roger Farquhar, editor of the *Montgomery County Sentinel*, agreed. He noted that a vote for Wallace represented a vote against big government. In all, Wallace's showing laid the foundation for Mahoney's success in the Democratic primary.[24]

Mahoney nonetheless had a tough challenge ahead of him because the Democratic primary featured a slate of candidates capable of capturing the nomination. Democrats such as former Baltimore County executive Christian Kahl and wealthy machine shop owner Harry Dundore informed Agnew that "the prospects of a tough Democratic primary were good, thus enhancing the chances of any respectable Republican challenger." Moreover, both the *Baltimore Sun* and the *Washington Post* considered the Democratic primary a difficult race to predict. The reason for the competitive primary fight was the large number of candidates capable of winning the Democratic nomination. As Robert Marsh noted, "[t]here was no lack of candidates who could make a strong bid on the Democratic side." The Democratic field included eight candidates in all, but, of the eight candidates, only four had any chance of winning the primary. Outside of Mahoney, Clarence W. Miles, Attorney General Thomas B. Finan, and Congressman Carlton R. Sickles each had the support that could determine who would win the Democratic nomination. Mahoney's opposition to open housing would significantly aid his chances at victory.[25]

By 1966, Marylanders began to exhibit increased opposition to open housing,

leading several gubernatorial candidates to alter their position on the issue. As Farquhar informed *U.S. News & World Report*, "I think anti-civil-rights feeling is slightly on the increase here [in Montgomery County], in large part because of the accelerated drive for fair housing. There's been some adverse reaction to that: fear of Negroes moving into white suburbia." Journalist James T. Yenckel issued a report in the *Washington Post* that supported Farquhar's claim. According to Yenckel, the Montgomery County Board of Realtors conducted a survey of 500 Montgomery County residents. Sixty percent of the people surveyed opposed a county fair housing law in the sale of homes. The opposition to open housing had obvious political ramifications. After each of the major Democratic candidates expressed support for open housing at a November 1965 dinner in Easton, some of the candidates began to waffle on the issue. Miles, for example, opposed any open housing law that applied to owner-occupied dwellings, believing that racial harmony and cooperation could be achieved by recognizing "the traditional American concept that a man's home is his castle and he is entitled to enjoy it and dispose of it as he sees fit."[26]

Meanwhile, Mahoney used a slogan to express his opposition to open housing. "Your Home is Your Castle—Protect It" has often been linked to Hal Evry of The Public Relations Center in Los Angeles, California. For the 1966 campaign, Mahoney hired Evry to manage the public relations aspect of his campaign. Blair Lee IV noted that "[p]olls were taken, $25,000 worth, and suddenly, in June, Mahoney announced the slogan." Evry's philosophy had a strong influence over how Mahoney approached the campaign. In advising candidates, Evry suggested that they keep a low profile and let the slogan do the work. Mahoney, for the most part, followed Evry's advice. Although Mahoney appeared in front of certified supporters, or expressed his opposition to open housing to people in shopping centers, busses, and bars, he missed meetings and debates. Journalist Charles Whiteford, moreover, saw a kinder, gentler Mahoney. Unlike previous campaigns, Mahoney in 1966 dropped the charges of corruption as well as slashing attacks on his opponents. Most notably, he had the slogan, which also appeared to have Evry's fingerprints. Lee remarked that Evry "claims to have used this slogan successfully before in five different states!" Even though strong evidence exists in linking Mahoney's slogan to Evry, questions still exist regarding the slogan's creation.[27]

No one knows with absolute certainty whether Evry created Mahoney's slogan. As Lee points out, "[t]he origins of the slogan, 'Your home is your castle,' are unclear." Evry never indicated that he conceived the slogan for Mahoney, yet he did tell his friend, reporter Anne Christmas, the nature of his association with the Mahoney campaign. Evry told Christmas that he worked during the initial stages of the campaign, but a salary dispute forced his departure. According to Lee, Evry's revelation represented the closest he ever came to divulging his role in Mahoney's slogan. Still, some members of Mahoney's campaign team have indicated that the slogan had its origins at the grassroots level. Mahoney's campaign manager, Lou

Reed Jr., denied Evry's connection to the slogan in an interview with journalist Jerome Kelly. As Reed stated, "[t]hat was first picked up by George. But it was the people who first began saying it." Although the creation of Mahoney's slogan is uncertain the message bore a strong constitutional appeal.[28]

On the surface, "your home is your castle" embodied the tradition of protecting individual property rights while also highlighting concern over increased federal power. Mahoney warned of what he saw as the expanding role of the federal government during the primary season. In discussing urban decay, Mahoney noted that "there is grave danger now of the Federal Government ignoring and by-passing the states in (an) inter-governmental relationship." Increased federal power appeared at the heart of Mahoney's opposition to open housing, "[l]ook, I don't care if you're a white man or Chinaman or a Negro. Suppose someone wants to rent your house and he has fifteen children and ten dogs. You turn him down. You could be fined or go to jail if you say 'No.' I'll fight a law like that to my last breath." George P. Mahoney Jr. indicated a similar sentiment, noting that the federal government had no right to interfere with property owners' decisions about who would buy their homes. Despite the constitutional angle of "your home is your castle," some people attached a racial meaning to his position.[29]

Critics believed that Mahoney's opposition played on the racial fears and prejudices of the public. Although "your home is your castle" does not make any reference to race, some people believed that Mahoney's stand represented a wink and a nod to people unwilling to sell or rent their homes to African Americans. The Baltimore Sun viewed Mahoney's opposition in that light and nine days before the primary indicated that "[t]he nature of [Mahoney's] campaign, with its bald appeal to the more backward prejudices of the voters, illustrates yet once more this candidate's utter incapacity for high elective office." People emerged during the 1966 election cycle to criticize Mahoney's slogan as an appeal to bigotry. For example, Hans Goebel wrote a letter to the editor, declaring that "[t]he fall of 1966 was the right psychological moment for someone to exploit the unrealistic but none the less [sic] fears of those thousands of middle-class suburbanites who have visions of the black hordes descending upon them like a plague."[30]

If anything, Mahoney's stand against open housing highlighted his own desire to get elected. He was, at one time, a supporter of open housing. In 1950 he campaigned for open housing in some districts, gaining the support of Lillie Carroll Jackson of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.). He even supported open housing at the November 1965 dinner in Easton. Regardless of this support, Mahoney switched positions and responded "I was a private citizen then, not a candidate for office. I wasn't even sure I was going to run for Governor." His answer, on the surface, does not even attempt to reconcile his two distinct stands on open housing. Nonetheless, the answer represented a causal link between his switch and his political aspirations. He would have continued to support open

housing but for his desire to win the governorship. As Rabbi Morris Lieberman, leader of Baltimore's largest Jewish reform congregation, declared, "I do not believe Mr. Mahoney is a racist or an evil man. Indeed, not long ago he was an advocate of open housing, and he would be now if he thought that more votes would be gained by adopting that position. His only desire is to be elected." Mahoney did not run as a racist, but as an opportunist.[31]

The slogan, despite its various interpretations, helped provide Mahoney with the momentum he needed to overtake his opponents. Not everyone wanted to hear Mahoney speak out against open housing. Only seventeen of 1,500 invited real estate agents arrived to hear Mahoney speak out on how open housing legislation would topple the real estate industry. Nonetheless, in opposing open housing, Mahoney's campaign played an important role in changing the complexion of the primary. As Whiteford reported in early August, "Mr. Mahoney raised the cry, 'A man's home is his castle,' and said he would veto any open occupancy bill that came before him as governor. His stock shot up immediately." Mahoney continued to gain momentum as the primary season entered into the home stretch. Lee remarked that, "[d]uring the last month of the campaign, Mahoney began to pick up support, but, down to the last moment, the professionals and observers thought it would be a tight finish between [Carlton R.] Sickles and [Thomas B.] Finan." As the results came in on September 13, 1966, Mahoney surprised the political pundits by winning the primary.[32]

The primary returns gave Mahoney a narrow, but fluctuating lead over Sickles and prompted him not to concede defeat. Although initial voting returns gave Finan an early lead, Mahoney and Sickles quickly overtook him and Mahoney emerged as the apparent Democratic nominee with a slim 1,454-vote lead over Sickles. Three thousand absentee ballots remained to be counted. As election officials began the official canvass in each of Maryland's twenty-four jurisdictions, the size of Mahoney's lead began to vary. Journalist Jim G. Lucas noted that, at one point, absentee ballots placed Sickles within 934-votes of Mahoney. Given Mahoney's slim lead, Sickles refused to concede. Voting errors aided Sickles's case. The most noted discrepancy came from Anne Arundel County's District 6A, where thirty-nine voting machines recorded approximately 255-votes for the blank space under Sickles name. Sickles believed that those votes were meant for him, arguing that "I can't believe anyone would want to vote for Mr. Nobody just under my name." Still, as each of Maryland's jurisdictions reported its official canvass, Mahoney received some breathing room. Montgomery County's and Baltimore County's official tallies gave Mahoney a 1,829-vote lead over Sickles, while Baltimore City's official canvass showed that Sickles did little to cut into Mahoney's lead. Fifteen days after the primary, Sickles conceded, having lost to Mahoney by only 1,939 votes.[33]

Mahoney won in part because Miles took away a significant number of votes from Finan. A moderate Democrat who often played a behind-the-scenes role in

helping other Democrats, the 1966 Democratic primary was Miles's first, and only, attempt at elected office and he finished a distant fourth with 42,304 votes. He did, however, help shape the outcome of the primary. Miles and Finan ran as the two moderate Democrats, yet because Finan stood as Governor Tawes's hand-picked successor, Miles appealed to moderates seeking to prevent a third Tawes term. Miles also appealed to moderates uninspired by Finan's leadership ability. During the primary, Miles had attacked Finan for failing "to properly exert the great influence he has enjoyed with Governor Tawes." Miles supported his claim by asking Finan to explain his inaction in combating civil disorder and in failing to protect Marylanders from unscrupulous insurance companies. In a primary where Finan lost by 14,230 votes, Miles's candidacy appeared to make a difference. As Governor Harry Roe Hughes reflected, "Miles probably cost Finan the election because I think every vote Miles got probably would have gone to Finan. That would have been enough to nominate him."[34]

Finan and Sickles had underestimated the seasoned campaigner. The Baltimore Sun believed that "[a] principal responsibility of the Democratic party in this primary is to make sure that Mr. Mahoney does not by any chance become the Governor of Maryland. The way to do it is to eliminate him now." Finan and Sickles failed and the two candidates spent more time blasting each other than they did attempting to discredit Mahoney's candidacy. In fact, journalist Jules Witcover believed that Finan, Sickles, and their supporters "made the fatal political mistake of underestimation." Mahoney knew well how he could benefit from the Finan-Sickles battle, "I had it all planned out how I was going to beat these fellows. I knew just what was going to come. I let Finan work on Sickles and I let Sickles work on Finan. And do you know? Those fellows never even gave me standing room." The Finan-Sickles battle helped shape the Democratic primary's outcome, as illustrated by the split in the African American electorate.[35]

The inability of African American voters to unite behind either Finan or Sickles contributed to Mahoney's primary victory. The election exposed a split between two factions within Baltimore's predominantly black fourth legislative district. State Senator Verda Welcome led one faction that consisted primarily of conservative, middle class, African Americans. During the primary, Welcome supported Finan's candidacy, believing that he "stands as strongly as any other gubernatorial candidate on the fiery open occupancy issue." Clarence Mitchell III led an opposing faction of more militant, working class voters. In the primary, Mitchell's faction supported Sickles, claiming that Finan failed African Americans in the past. Journalist Adam Spiegel noted the significance of the Welcome-Mitchell split, believing "[t]heir failure to ally in the September 13 primary was a major factor in enabling Mr. Mahoney to edge by Congressman Carlton R. Sickles." Although the split in the African American vote helped Mahoney's cause, many commentators believed that the white backlash put him over the top.[36]

In the primary's aftermath, the *Baltimore Sun* noted that Mahoney successfully appealed to the racial prejudices of Maryland's electorate. Joseph M. Coale III agreed. In a letter to the editor sent to the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, Coale stated that the voters chose bigotry over intelligence, experience, and leadership. Commentary on Mahoney's victory also came from across the United States. For example, Ben A. Franklin of the *New York Times* noted that Mahoney's victory stirred national interest with his probable white backlash victory in Maryland. The *Los Angeles Times*, furthermore, believed that "[t]he 'white backlash' was, quite apparently, the major factor in George P. Mahoney's probable victory in the race for Maryland's Democratic gubernatorial nomination." The paper went further, noting that Mahoney stood little chance of winning until he came up with his campaign slogan and promised to veto any open housing legislation the General Assembly may pass. Throughout Maryland, the voting results showed the impact of the white backlash on the Democratic primary.[37]

Geographically, Maryland's various regions underwent changes during the 1950s and 1960s that had political ramifications for the 1966 race. Suburban growth and economic expansion characterized areas surrounding Baltimore City and Washington D.C. New housing sprung up in places like Langley Park, Riverdale, and Columbia. Meanwhile, shopping centers like Prince George's Plaza and Edmondson Village appeared. The growth of the Baltimore-Washington Metropolitan Area contrasted significantly with the situation in Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore. Both regions represented economically impoverished areas that did not enjoy any population boom. In discussing Southern Maryland, historian Robert J. Brugger noted that "[t]he perennial poverty of Southern Maryland and depression in the oyster industry vexed any Maryland leader." The socio-economic conditions had political ramifications and by 1964, decisions from the United States Supreme Court swung the balance of power from Maryland's smaller counties to the state's population centers. Reapportionment left people in Southern Maryland and the Eastern Shore politically weakened and distrustful. Consequently, they viewed politicians from other regions as outsiders unable to fully understand their problems. Because Sickles came from Prince George's County, and because Finan came from Allegany County, they ultimately allowed Mahoney (Owings Mills, Baltimore County) to exploit the growing white backlash which existed.[38]

The white backlash, for example, helped Mahoney receive electoral victories in the four Southern Maryland counties. Mahoney showed poorly in Southern Maryland in 1962, unable to receive more than twenty percent of the vote in any of the region's jurisdictions For the 1966 primary, Mahoney received roughly the same amount of organizational support as Finan did. Some people, however, questioned the value of some pro-Mahoney organizations. In describing Mahoney's organizational support in Anne Arundel County, Dr. Robert E. Schwartz noted that "[t]he organizations are not representative of the people; they cannot deliver the vote." Dr.

Schwartz's remark proved correct, but for Finan. Although voter turnout remained stagnant in Southern Maryland, Mahoney's vote percentage doubled in Anne Arundel County, came close to tripling in St. Mary's County, and tripled in Calvert and Charles counties. Finan, meanwhile, saw his numbers significantly decrease from Tawes's 1962 totals. Part of the decrease can be explained through the slots phaseout that began under Tawes's in 1963. However, the slots phase out cannot completely explain such a significant decrease or, in Mahoney's case, increase, especially in a region where "[i]ts attitudes and customs are similar to those of the Deep South." The white backlash helped carry Mahoney to victory in Southern Maryland.[39]

On the Eastern Shore, the white backlash provided Mahoney with surprising strength. Going into the 1966 primary, few expected Mahoney to do well. Not only did Finan receive most of the region's organizational support, Mahoney had to face Miles, a resident of Queen Anne's County. Congressman Rogers C. B. Morton believed "Mahoney won't get enough votes to wad a shotgun." Yet, he did well. Even though voting remained relatively stagnant, Mahoney greatly improved on his 1962 totals. His improved showing enabled him to carry Caroline County, Dorchester County, Talbot County, and Worcester County. Mahoney's success has been tied to the backlash vote. As many Eastern Shore voters refused to follow the lead of local organizations, they instead supported candidates with conservative views on open housing. Miles only carried Queen Anne's County, but his position on open housing helped him cut into Finan's expected vote Meanwhile, Mahoney stood as the main beneficiary. His complete opposition to open housing appealed to many working-class whites. In Cambridge, where racial unrest erupted in 1963, many working-class whites remained angry over the civil rights legislation of 1964 and 1965. They helped Mahoney win Dorchester County by 448 votes. Still, the strength of the backlash came from Baltimore and its surrounding area.[40]

The Baltimore metropolitan region contained strong evidence that linked the white backlash vote to Mahoney's victory. By 1962, his strength in the region had considerably weakened. To make matters worse, Governor Tawes carried each jurisdiction in 1962, including Mahoney's own Baltimore County. Mahoney improved on his 1962 numbers in each county except Howard. The backlash vote rested at the root of Mahoney's improvement in the region. For instance, the *Baltimore Sun* quickly pointed out that "[m]ost areas of Baltimore County gave almost the same number of votes to George P. Mahoney in last Tuesday's election that they gave to Alabama's Governor George C. Wallace two years ago." The paper showed that Mahoney received 12,729 votes from Overlea, Essex, and Middle River, compared to Wallace's 12,460 votes. Meanwhile, Harford County further revealed the strength of the backlash vote. Senator Joseph D. Tydings, a native of Harford County, endorsed and campaigned with Sickles. Nonetheless, the people ignored Tydings's endorsement and voted for Mahoney. Mahoney won in Harford County, defeating Finan by forty-seven votes. Sickles finished third, 712 votes behind Mahoney.[41]

Baltimore City arguably provided the clearest indication of the white backlash at work. Going into the 1966 primary, Mahoney's political strength in the city had been on the wane. Mahoney hit a low-point of 31 percent in his 1958 Senate race against Baltimore Mayor Thomas D'Alesandro. Yet, although he did slightly better in 1962, Governor Tawes still managed to defeat him. Journalist Theo Lippman Jr. saw Tawes's victory as a sign that Mahoney's "formerly secure hold on the Baltimore City vote was relaxing." Mahoney failed to turn the tide in 1966. As the primary results showed, he actually did worse in the city than he did in 1962. Nonetheless, Mahoney still managed to carry Baltimore City by 2,236 votes. The white backlash played a key role in the victory. By opposing open housing, Mahoney gained the support of a considerable portion of the city's white working-class population. These working-class whites supported Mahoney, even though the Maryland AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers (U.A.W.) endorsed Sickles. For example, in East Baltimore's Ward I, Mahoney received sixty-eight percent of the vote. Mahoney's success led Albert Mattes of the U.A.W. to declare that "[m]embers of organized labor have deserted their union in the field of political action." Mahoney's success also caught the attention of a prominent national politician.[42]

As Mahoney won the Democratic primary, the 1966 Civil Rights Act entered the United States Senate for debate, leading one of the bill's stronger opponents to use Mahoney's victory to justify his opposition. Senator Everett M. Dirksen (R–Illinois) opposed the Civil Rights bill because he viewed the open housing plank as "absolutely unconstitutional." Yet, through Mahoney's victory, Dirksen believed he could buttress his opposition, "[f]or a candidate who had only one plank in his platform, opposition to open housing, Mr. Mahoney did pretty good. This should be an eye opener to a lot of folks." Dirksen went further, aiming his comments at Maryland's two senators. Because Senator Tydings and Senator Brewster supported open housing, and because they both supported Sickles in the primary, Dirksen used Mahoney's victory to suggest that both Tydings and Brewster temper their support on open housing. Dirksen gave Mahoney's victory national significance as the Civil Rights bill entered the United States Senate, but, in his analysis, Dirksen failed to examine the larger picture, one that revealed a much more complicated Maryland landscape.[43]

As much as Dirksen used Mahoney's victory to support his opposition to open housing, he did so by examining select pieces of information. Dirksen failed to take into account the fact that Mahoney only received thirty percent of the vote. For example, Senator Philip A. Hart (D–Michigan) did not see how Mahoney's victory in Maryland would affect the fate of the Civil Rights bill in the Senate, noting "that Mahoney got a minority of the vote cast for all candidates in the gubernatorial primary." The Baltimore Sun went further, arguing that Mahoney's victory did not reflect the true sentiment Marylanders had towards open housing. In a September 16, 1966, editorial the *Baltimore Sun* used Sickles's narrow defeat to argue that just as

many Marylanders would support an open housing law as they would oppose one, concluding that "[a] lot can be done with election statistics, particularly by politicians who interpret them to suit their own purposes." Mahoney's stand against open housing helped him win the primary, yet his opposition ultimately caused a rift in the Democratic Party that prevented him from winning the general election.[44]

The General Election

Mahoney stumbled out of the gate by refusing to participate in any debates with Agnew or Pressman, a mistake that would haunt him throughout the campaign. In his first formal press conference after receiving the nomination, he indicated that Agnew and Pressman did not represent his opponents. Rather, the "opponent is the state of things as they are." That concept set the foundation for Mahoney's refusal to debate. When he officially ruled out debates, Mahoney reiterated his line of thinking, "[a]s I have stated more than once, I feel that my opponent is not any other candidate. My opponent is the state of things as they are, the problems and important issues which I propose to discuss, in my own way at the proper time, with the voters, not the candidates." Mahoney refused to make public and television appearances that included Agnew or Pressman. In a speech before 500 Democrats in Essex, Mahoney indicated that he "wouldn't dare go on television with those two nuts."[45]

Some people argued that Mahoney's refusal to debate showed his willingness to partially apply some of Evry's teachings, yet the logistics of the election and the candidate's actions told a slightly different story. Journalist Thomas O'Neill noted that Mahoney "has gone part of the way with the consultant's advice that candidates get lost and let the slogans do the work. He shuns questions, appearances with rival candidates, and most hopeful interviewers." However, in a three man contest, Mahoney did not have the luxury of keeping a low profile like he did during the primary. Journalist Bradford Jacobs stated that "Mr. Mahoney's vanishments went publicly unnoticed in the primary thickly peopled with eight gubernatorial candidates, but an empty chair in the three-man contest now ahead seems certain to catch voters' attention." Furthermore, Mahoney returned to the slashing attacks of his previous campaigns. He not only referred to Agnew as "the big slob," but also noted that Agnew "never [did] anything in his life. I don't know how he ever got a law degree." Later on, Mahoney viewed Pressman as unsuccessful because he only had a net worth of $32,000. The slashing attacks showed that Mahoney relied less on Evry's teachings than he did during the primary.[46]

More plausible, Mahoney's public speaking skills paled in comparison to those of his opponents, "[a]s a speaker, whether on television or before a live audience, Mahoney was so bad as to be indescribable. People said he was illiterate and simply could not read the speeches that were written for him; that perhaps his eyesight was so poor he couldn't discern the type; or that he must certainly have been drunk when they saw them." Louis Grasmick, a Mahoney campaign co-chairman, con-

curred, "[George] knows what he wants to say, but he can't say it. I've heard George talk about campaigns with great clarity for hours. Then you had to pray he didn't get on television and try to repeat it." Mahoney's speaking style contrasted greatly with Agnew and Pressman. According to journalist Jim G. Lucas, Agnew had always been a great speaker, but continued to improve on his technique. Pressman, meanwhile, "adopted the style of whirling dervish on TV." Given Agnew and Pressman's speaking ability, Mahoney's refusal to debate them appeared wise.[47]

Mahoney's refusal to debate did raise questions about his qualifications and several people defended his decision. Margaret Studley, in a letter to the editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, wrote that she grew "sick and tired of hearing Agnew, Pressman and others of their party clamoring for Mr. Mahoney to speak. Don't they know you don't have to be a sliver-tongued orator to run a good government?" Still, Mahoney's unwillingness to debate left him vulnerable. Agnew argued that "Mahoney has stamped a red-letter 'unqualified' across his chest by refusing to appear in debates." Likewise, Pressman indicated that "[t]here's a report going around that Mr. Mahoney is not capable of answering questions or debating issues." Agnew's and Pressman's assessment appeared to mirror public sentiment. Mary Carroll wrote a letter to the editor criticizing Studley's stance, "[i]t is part of the American democratic process for candidates to meet their opponents in honest debate for the benefit of the voters." Frederick L. Dewberry, chairman of the Baltimore County Council, offered a similar sentiment. In commending Agnew for his campaign, Dewberry simultaneously criticized Mahoney's, indicating that Agnew faced the issues and the people.[48]

Mahoney's altering stance on gun control further fueled questions about his competency. In responding to a *Washington Post* questionnaire, he maintained that "all firearms be registered and licensed with the various law enforcement agencies concerned," an answer that met with a threat from Donald Stewart, legislative representative of the Baltimore County Sportsmen. "Unless this statement is retracted, we're going on television against Mahoney. We have told his aides he has until noon tomorrow (Thursday) to retract." The strongly worded statement resulted in a retraction from Mahoney, who "blamed his public relations staff for 'misinterpreting' his position." In retracting his position, Mahoney opened himself to attacks from all sides. The *Baltimore Sun* used the controversy to illustrate the embarrassment that working both sides can cause. Meanwhile, Pressman criticized Mahoney's competency, doubting that he "can discuss in public the issues raised in the releases prepared by his ghost writers." The harshest criticism of all, though, came from a *Washington Post* editorial published four days before the election:[49]

> Push him, it has been said, and he bends. That appears to be quite true. What Mr. Mahoney seems not to understand, however, is that there are a lot of people in Maryland for whom the spokesman of the Baltimore County

> Sportsmen doesn't speak; quite possibly they want some protection against the idiotic and indiscriminate proliferation of firearms. What Mr. Mahoney seems to understand even less, moreover, is that Marylanders may want a Governor who is not quite such a patsy for pressure groups. And what Mr. Mahoney seems to understand least of all is how completely and pathetically he has stripped himself and has shattered his own image.[50]

Mahoney's shift on gun control only raised more doubts about his ability to govern.

To compound matters, Mahoney hurt his cause by making comments that had racially suggestive undertones. As the general campaign progressed, Mahoney attempted to shed his image as a one-issue candidate by focusing on other issues. He focused on law and order, calling for tougher measures to fight crime. During a speech to an all-white audience at the 3600 block of South Hanover Street, he commented on the audacity of the criminals in Baltimore, "[t]hey think they can go along and do anything they want." Mahoney indicated that he would combat crime by urging police "to hit first, fire first." Although Mahoney's speech on crime did not explicitly state the race of the criminals, his audience at the South Hanover Street rally clearly understood the racial implications, particularly when he noted that "police departments have been told to treat some certain people with kid gloves—cautioned not to do anything to them, except as a last resort." The South Hanover Street speech illustrated an instance where the public found an implied racial meaning in Mahoney's comments. After all, Rabbi Lieberman noted that a Mahoney victory "would put our city and State Police under the control of a man who said just yesterday, as reported in the morning paper, that he will take care of 'those birds,' meaning Negro citizens, by telling the police to 'hit first, fire first.'"[51]

Agnew proved the beneficiary of Mahoney's missteps, ultimately altering his campaign to attack Mahoney's deficiencies. As Edgar Feingold, Agnew's chief public relations advisor in 1966, stated, "The great crunch arose because Ted was so deadly dull. He was getting no press coverage; he was fooling around with these large conceptual things and getting nowhere." Members of Agnew's staff started to push for a more emotional campaign. For instance, Feingold wanted Agnew to continue discussing the issues, but Feingold also thought "it is critical now to begin an emotional appeal to the voter, to rouse and spark his interest, to compel his attention, and to bring him to the polls out of a sense of urgency and commitment." Robert Goodman, Agnew's advertising coordinator, agreed. In an internal memorandum titled "Points to Stress with Mr. Agnew," Goodman stated that "[w]e are facing an opponent who has an emotional issue and we agree that the best way that we can overcome it is with an even stronger, longer, deeper, wider, even more emotional campaign than that of the opponent." Agnew set out with a two-pronged attack against Mahoney, focusing the public's attention on his incompetence and bigotry.[52]

The first prong in Agnew's attacks accused Mahoney of being incompetent and he told a group of 700 Republican precinct workers in Baltimore City, "[i]t comes down to this. The issue in this campaign is competence. Has [Mahoney] shown that he is capable of running a government?" In response, the crowd shouted, "no." Agnew continued to hammer away at Mahoney's qualifications and in doing so focused on Mahoney's refusal to debate. Agnew used Mahoney's refusal as an illustration of his incompetence early in the campaign. As election day neared he stepped up his attacks, positing that he did not understand why Mahoney refused to debate, "unless it is to cover up his inability to cope with the issues. He is so unqualified that he is afraid to face the issues." Furthermore, in refusing to debate, Agnew believed Mahoney "feels his inadequacy." Driving his point home, Agnew contrasted his political resume with Mahoney's political resume, "[t]he issue is the difference between the person experienced in executive office and the person experienced in running for office."[53]

The second prong of Agnew's attack focused on linking bigotry to Mahoney's campaign. He told a crowd in Allegany County, in a speech that would foreshadow some of his famous speeches as vice president, Mahoney's campaign "is a two pronged devil's pitchfork based on incompetency and bigotry, which he brandishes about while laughing to himself and waiting to pick bare the bones of Maryland." Agnew went further in a speech given in Hancock, Maryland, noting that Mahoney's slogan represents nothing more than "a veil of voodoo" designed "to frighten people in walling themselves in from social responsibility." For Agnew, he believed Mahoney's campaign represented an outright appeal to bigotry, a view he freely expressed as the campaign neared the end. He supported his argument by focusing on the nature of Mahoney's support. To illustrate, Agnew linked the Ku Klux Klan with Mahoney, noting the presence of Mahoney hats at an October 1966 Klan rally in Anne Arundel County as well as Mahoney bumper stickers during the National States' Rights Party rally at Patterson Park in July 1966. Agnew, in essence, vilified Mahoney as a bigot.[54]

Agnew's attacks went a long way in helping him defeat Mahoney. In the October 30, 1966, edition of the *New York Times*, journalist Ben A. Franklin noted that Agnew's own polls had him trailing Mahoney, yet Franklin also noted that Mahoney peaked, mainly because he preferred focusing on open housing. Mahoney's lag continued as election day neared. As the *New York Times* indicated two days before the election, "Mr. Mahoney's popularity, in the opinion of most disinterested observers, is fading." The same article, though, noted that Mahoney "is thought to be at least even with Mr. Agnew and probably ahead." As the election results poured in on November 8, 1966, Agnew proved the clear winner. Although he carried just eleven of Maryland's twenty-four jurisdictions, he received 455,318 votes (50 percent). Mahoney came in second, receiving only 373,543 votes (40 percent) and Pressman finished third with 90,899 votes (10 percent).[55]

On the evening of November 8, 1966, Mahoney conceded. Agnew's victory marked Mahoney's seventh electoral defeat and once again he responded with the grace and dignity that characterized his six previous concession speeches. He wished Agnew good health and offered, "Anytime I can be of service to this great State—the State I love—to make it greater, I will be glad to be at the beck and call of the new Governor. I have no feelings of bitterness. This State of Maryland is bigger than any one person in it." *The Baltimore Evening Sun* stated that Mahoney's speech "had the kind of grace and dignity that they taught Irish kids in the old Tenth ward where he grew up." Moreover, the paper indicated that "[t]he Democratic candidate's last speech . . . was easily his best because it was graceful in its acceptance of defeat and generous in its understanding of the complex burden Mr. Agnew will take up. Mr. Mahoney not only wished Mr. Agnew well, but called on the Democrats in the new General Assembly to cooperate 'fully' with him." As governor, Agnew needed the help of the Democrats who helped elect him.[56]

Mahoney's main objective during the general campaign was to unite the Democratic Party after a contentious primary, an aspect made difficult by his opposition to open housing. In Maryland, Democratic voters had a tendency to cross party lines, particularly "when the Republicans have done a better nominating job." Mahoney knew that too well, as Democratic infighting had awarded McKeldin the governorship in 1950 and 1954. Immediately after the primary, Mahoney's campaign pushed for party unity. Paul J. Reed Jr., Mahoney's campaign manager, noted that emissaries had been dispatched to each county to speak "to the local winners and loosers [sic], to our primary friends and foes." Although Reed believed at the time that the party would unite, Mahoney's opposition to open housing made that possibility unlikely and he had effectively painted himself into a corner. With Mahoney's strict opposition, he could not change his stance without alienating the supporters who helped him gain the nomination in the first place. By maintaining his stance, "[m]any of Mr. Sickles's supporters simply will not support Mr. Mahoney." Maryland Democrats had what the *Washington Post* considered an unavoidable choice. They could either stop Mahoney, or they could contribute "to the undoing of their party by electing him." Most Maryland Democrats chose to stop Mr. Mahoney.[57]

Not all Democrats fled their party to support Agnew during the general election. In fact, Mahoney received the support of several Democratic groups as well as several notable Maryland Democrats. The Northwest County Democrats, for instance, threw their support behind Mahoney in early October 1966. With 800 members, the Northwest County Democrats operated out of Pikesville and supported Sickles during the primary. However, as club president Nathan Goldstein declared, Mahoney received the group's endorsement "in support of 'party unity and the necessity of electing this life-long, ardent Democrat.'" Party unity provided the impetus of Finan's support of Mahoney. Immediately after Mahoney officially became the Democratic nominee, Finan came forward to offer his support, "the

Democratic party is bigger than any one man." He also believed that "the Democratic Party has given the best administration to the State of Maryland, and I believe it will continue to do so in the future." Yet, most of all, Mahoney received the support of Governor Tawes who offered a brief endorsement, "I've never indorsed anyone I thought was a loser."[58]

By receiving Finan and Tawes's support, Mahoney in essence received the backing of the party regulars. He also picked up support in key battleground areas. As journalist Tom Wicker noted, "Mahoney has one major asset besides the emotional power of his vacuous slogan. It is what Baltimore calls 'the Muldoons,' organization Democrats who go down the line for any ticket presented to them. In a state where Democrats lead the registration three to one, if enough of them regard their party as their castle and protect it, they can have George Mahoney at last." The backing of organizational Democrats resulted in Mahoney receiving important endorsements. For instance, Finan's support earned Mahoney the endorsement of state Senator Fred L. Wineland of Prince George's County, which, in turn, led to the support of an additional 200 county Democrats. Wineland and his supporters produced over 20,000 votes for Finan during the primary. The endorsement gave Mahoney strength in a jurisdiction that had ignored him in the past, a jurisdiction he needed to win. According to Jerome Kelly of the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, "[i]f they are successful in transferring this support to Mr. Mahoney he'll have a local leg up on Republican Spiro T. Agnew and Hyman A. Pressman, the independent." The organization's support, however, was scrutinized and criticized during the campaign.[59]

Although Mahoney had the backing of organizational Democrats his support seemed to rest, at best, on shaky ground. Organizational support for Mahoney came with the same criticisms that dogged Finan during the primary. As Bradford Jacobs of the *Baltimore Evening Sun* declared four days before the primary, Finan represented a "product of an eight-year Democratic administration, laden with its enemies, vulnerable to bossism charges." Those criticisms transferred to Mahoney during the general campaign. For instance, Pressman criticized Mahoney for trying to campaign "against things as they are," even though "he has accepted the backing of George H. Hocker, Governor Tawes's friend and political adviser, and of Mr. Tawes, himself." Agnew added insult to injury days before the election by attacking the nature of Tawes's support. In supporting Mahoney, Tawes remained silent on Mahoney's qualifications. Agnew came forward with a comment Tawes made about Mahoney as the two candidates vied for the 1962 Democratic gubernatorial nomination. At the time, Tawes said Mahoney "was not fit for public office," leading Agnew to state four years later that "[n]othing has happened since to make Mr. Mahoney any more fit."[60]

Like Agnew, the electorate held a critical view of the organizational support Mahoney received. Cookie Rosenthal, for example, believed that Mahoney's qualifications played little, if any, role in Tawes's endorsement. In a letter to the edi-

tor submitted to the *Baltimore Sun*, Rosenthal felt that party loyalty, anti-Sickles sentiment, and Mahoney's ability to win the election factored in Tawes's decision. Meanwhile, William H. Adkins II echoed a similar sentiment, arguing that "in the current calls of party unity, principle is cast to the winds. Voters are supposed to support the Democratic Party simply because it is the Democratic Party, and despite its adoption of a platform based on racial bigotry." This point of view paralleled with the sentiments expressed by other voters. As Kevin M. Purcell noted in his letter to the editor, party regulars wrongly placed party loyalty above the state's future. Party loyalty, however, did not extend to all Democrats, as the party experienced an internal revolt in the weeks leading up to the general election.[61]

The revolt within the Democratic Party began as soon as Mahoney became the apparent nominee. As the voting results came in on primary night, State Senate hopeful Clarence Mitchell III and State Senator Verda Welcome both indicated that they would not support him. Welcome specifically indicated that she did not "see how any member of my race in good conscience can vote for Mahoney." While E. Clinton Bamberger Jr. and C. Meredith Boyce, members of Carlton R. Sickles's failed ticket expressed opposition to Mahoney, journalist Charles Whiteford believed that investment banker Truman T. Semans provided the catalyst for the party revolt. Semans, the Maryland finance chairman to President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson, wrote a letter to nine Democratic Party leaders within Maryland, including Governor Tawes, Attorney General Finan, Senator Daniel B. Brewster, and Senator Joseph D. Tydings. In the letter, Semans urged Democratic leaders to "desert a candidate who is spattered with the dung of bigotry." Mahoney, when asked to comment on the letter, stated that he "wouldn't even want to dignify such a letter by answering it."[62]

Brewster and Tydings distanced themselves from Mahoney during the general campaign. Although they actively campaigned for Sickles during the primary, neither senator supported Mahoney, opting instead to stay quiet. The *Baltimore Evening Sun* stated in late-September that "[n]o word has yet occurred to Senator Brewster or to Senator Tydings to cover the Mahoney problem. No wonder, but no matter their silence is icily eloquent. It says, in general, that both senators are appalled at the birth in Maryland of white backlash as a political meal ticket." Both senators stayed quiet and kept their distance through the remainder of the campaign. Brewster and Tydings, for example, stayed away from the Democratic convention that adopted Mahoney's platform on open housing. Furthermore, they stayed away from pro-Mahoney functions, such as an event held at the Eastwind Hotel in Baltimore County. Both senators sent telegrams expressing regret that they could not attend, yet their messages generated a negative response from the crowd in attendance. By staying silent and distant, Brewster and Tydings attempted to express their dissatisfaction with Mahoney's nomination without receiving the label of party deserter.[63]

Dean Acheson, however, chose to freely express his support for Agnew. A for-

mer Secretary of State who served under President Harry S. Truman from 1949 to 1953 and a resident of Sandy Spring since the 1930s, Acheson publicly endorsed Agnew during the campaign. Although his career in government ended when Truman left office, he continued to enjoy considerable influence as an unofficial advisor to President Kennedy and President Johnson. Acheson kept a close eye on the governor's race, but he did not comment publicly on the contest until mid-October. After the Democratic convention adopted Mahoney's open housing plank, Acheson stated that Agnew represented the clear choice for loyal Democrats. He also urged Democrats to unite against Mahoney because "[m]ere abstention or division of the opposition to [him] is not enough. That is what nominated him in the primary." The *Baltimore Sun* urged Maryland Democrats to respectfully consider Acheson's stance given his active interest in local and state politics as well as his impeccable credentials as a Democrat.[64]

While Acheson threw his support behind Agnew, another prominent Democrat chose to withhold his support. President Johnson did not publicly repudiate the Marylander, however, as had senators Brewster and Tydings, the president distanced himself from his fellow Democrat. As journalist Ernest B. Furgurson noted, "[i]t is customary for the President to keep his opinions to himself during primary contests among Democrats, but it is also usual for the White House to throw its support behind nominees of its party in general elections unless there is a serious reason to hold back." President Johnson and his staff held back. During an October press conference, one reporter asked Bill D. Moyers, Johnson's press secretary, if the president would support Mahoney. Moyers did not answer affirmatively or negatively, "[t]hese are matters which are up to the individual states and about which I have no comment at this time." Other reports, however, indicated that Johnson would not visit Maryland as he did not want to give Mahoney the appearance of support. Ultimately, the president visited Maryland towards the end of October, giving a speech at the Woodlawn Social Security Administration. Mahoney and his aides did not appear and Johnson did not mention the candidate or the campaign.[65]

Mahoney became increasingly isolated within his own party as a notable primary opponent withheld support. Sickles opted not to endorse Agnew and simply chose to withhold support. After the primary, Sickles received numerous letters from voters urging him to support one of the three candidates. C. Byron Guy, for example, told Sickles "[i]f you want to be classified as a good Democrat, you must support George P. Mahoney. If you do otherwise, then you must be considered as a traitor to the Democratic Party and thereby commit political suicide." William M. David Jr., however, wrote a personal letter to Sickles, urging him to publicly repudiate Mahoney's candidacy. David believed Sickles could tell voters "what they can do to prevent our state from choosing an administration based upon ignorance and racial intolerance." Ultimately, party loyalty prevented Sickles from endorsing Agnew. As he told reporter Sam Donaldson, "I don't see how I could go out and ac-

tively support another candidate." However, Sickles made a point to tell Donaldson that "I would think the fact that I have not seen it fit to support the nominee (Mahoney) ought to speak rather loudly." The impact of Sickles's non-endorsement held significant importance. In a 1978 interview with the *Washington Post*, Sickles said "[e]verybody blames me for Agnew . . . that wasn't what we set out to do." Without the support of Sickles and other Democrats, Mahoney found himself losing in three of Maryland's large, predominantly Democratic jurisdictions.[66]

Montgomery County exemplified the Democratic revolt at work, as county Democrats crossed party lines in large numbers to give Agnew a significant majority. On the day of the general election, voting registration figures showed that Montgomery County ranked third in the state with 180,885 registered voters, of which 110,135 were registered Democrats. Mahoney ran poorly in Montgomery County in the primary, and, although he tried to gain support for the general election, Montgomery County Democrats responded coolly. Jim G. Lucas declared that Mahoney "met with the Montgomery County precinct chairmen to explain himself and was met by total silence. Party leaders in that wealthy, liberal Washington suburb made it plain he'd get no financial support from them." Furthermore, groups such as the Montgomery County Democrats for the Defeat of Mahoney formed with the objective of keeping Mahoney out of office. Agnew, as a result, received an overwhelming majority in Montgomery County. shows that 126,169 voters went to the polls, of which 71 percent, or 89,643 people, voted for Agnew. Eileen Shanahan of the *New York Times* indicated that Agnew's majority came from the top-ranking government officials and professional people who resided in the jurisdiction.[67]

Agnew surprised commentators with his victory in Prince George's County, benefiting from the Democratic divisions that existed in the jurisdiction. As voter registration figures showed, Prince George's County had the fourth highest registration totals in the state. The county had 157,984 registered voters, of which 111,143 were registered Democrats. Agnew received 54,801 votes in Prince George's County, or 54 percent of the vote. His majority in Prince George's County did not match the one he received in Montgomery County, however, his victory within the jurisdiction came as bit of a surprise. Not only because Prince George's County represented "an area of middle-income houses and apartments," but also because Mahoney gained considerable strength within the county after a poor showing in the primary. Agnew, though, took advantage of a Democratic split within the county. While Finan's support helped Mahoney, Sickles lived in Prince George's County. He barely won there in the primary, but fifty-seven of his sixty-one local candidates won the party's nomination over Finan's candidates. Moreover, Prince George's County had 16,245 non-white residents of voting age. Not all of them were African American, but, in a jurisdiction where Agnew won by only 13,056 votes, African Americans and other minority groups played an important role in Agnew's victory in Prince George's County.[68]

Most of all, Agnew secured victory by capturing Baltimore City through a coalition that included middle- and-upper-class voters, Jewish voters, and African American voters. Baltimore City had the highest voter registration totals in Maryland. In all, the city had 411,055 registered voters, of which 337,558 were registered Democrats. Agnew carried the city with 114,262 votes, and, while he did not win a majority, he defeated Mahoney by a comfortable margin. For his part, Mahoney ran strongly with white working class voters. Kenneth D. Durr noted that "the same working-class whites who had voted by a 64 percent margin for George Wallace gave Mahoney 71 percent of the vote." Still, the white working-class vote became overshadowed by the support Agnew received from his coalition of voters. Shanahan, for example, noted that Mahoney ran poorly in Baltimore's middle- and-upper-class precincts, while journalist John H. Averill indicated that the Jewish vote made a considerable difference for Agnew. The deciding factor in Baltimore came from African Americans, who made up 35 percent of the city's 1960 population. Divided during the Democratic primary, prominent African American leaders such as Clarence Mitchell III and Verda Welcome expressed little concern about bolting the Democratic Party. Furthermore, the predominantly African American Fourth District threw its support behind Agnew. African Americans helped Agnew win Baltimore City as well as the governorship.[69]

Overall, Agnew's victory arose from most voters' desire to prevent Mahoney from becoming governor. According to Charles Bartlett of the *Los Angeles Times*, Agnew "was modestly realistic in saying that he recognized their support was inspired less by his own greatness than by deficiencies in his opponent." Robert Marsh concurred. In his opinion, the governor's race did little to bolster, or destroy, Agnew's personal appeal with the electorate. He did not gain a base of support that included liberal Democrats and African Americans. If anything, Marsh believed that Agnew "had not won supporters; he had been used by his supporters to combat George Mahoney. Agnew had merely been available in the right place at the right time." The most revealing evidence came from the electorate themselves. R. W. Duncan wrote "[f]or the first time I shall vote for a Republican, not because I am for Mr. Agnew, I'm not, but because I am against a political appeal to racist hatred and there is nothing negative about being counted as one against hatred." Like Duncan, Edward Witten found little appeal in Agnew's candidacy, "[he] equivocates on open housing. His position on labor, though good, is less than perfect. But the quirks of the primary leave us no alternative." In essence, most of the electorate voted against Mahoney instead of voting for Agnew.[70]

Agnew's running mates for attorney general and comptroller attempted to capitalize on the Democratic revolt by linking their opponents to Mahoney. To illustrate, William O. Doub, Republican candidate for attorney general, argued that his opponent, Francis B. Burch "has been a close political adviser and personal attorney to George P. Mahoney." Charles S. Bresler, the Republican comptroller

candidate, went further. In linking Mahoney with his opponent, Louis L. Goldstein, Bresler argued that Goldstein caused "the defeat of responsible Democrats and the bigoted burden borne by the Democratic candidate." The Americans for Democratic Action (A.D.A.) endorsed Doub and Bresler, believing that Burch and Goldstein were "undeserving of support because of their places on the Mahoney ticket and their acceptance of the Democratic platform incorporating Mahoney's distasteful ("your home is your castle") slogan." Outside of the A.D.A., Doub and Bresler found little support. In the attorney general contest, Burch received 530,647 votes, capturing sixty-six percent of the vote. He won in every jurisdiction except Allegany County and Garrett County. Meanwhile, Goldstein had little trouble defeating Bresler. Goldstein received 65 percent of the vote or 528,892 votes, winning in every jurisdiction except Garrett County. Burch and Goldstein's overwhelming victories showed the limited scope of the Democratic revolt.[71]

Although the 1966 governor's race represented a repudiation of Mahoney the politician, his candidacy nonetheless signified the viability of the white backlash as a political force. Most Maryland Democrats viewed Mahoney's strict opposition to open housing as the antithesis of what the party supported. Yet, most of all, Mahoney made numerous mistakes during the campaign that called into question his ability to effectively govern. Still, he highlighted the growing number of people who believed the civil rights movement had gone too far. In 1967, the General Assembly passed the Open Housing Act. The bill prohibited discrimination in the sale of new homes and apartments. However, as George H. Callcott noted, "[v]oters petitioned the act to referendum and defeated it, 343,447 to 275,781." Agnew himself used the race issue to his advantage. After riots engulfed Baltimore in April 1968, Agnew criticized the city's civil rights leaders for failing to stand up to militant blacks and outside agitators. Edgar Feingold remembered Agnew saying, "I know I should apologize to Clarence Mitchell, but look at this stack of telegrams in support of what I said. The white community needs someone to speak for them." Ultimately, Agnew's comments caught the attention of Richard Nixon, and, in November 1968, Agnew was elected Vice President. Mahoney's campaign, in short, exemplified the socio-political polarization that not only existed in Maryland during the 1960s, but also the rest of the country.[72]

Notes

The author thanks Kriste Lindenmeyer, Terry Bouton, Howard Smead, George P. Mahoney Jr., Blair Lee IV, Mary Cramer Wagner, Jenny Levine, Sylvia Wieckowski, Joe Tropea, Angela Tonello, and Joe Goulet.

1. Carl Schoettler, Raymond L. Sanchez, and Melody Simmons, "Oft-running candidate Mahoney dies," *Baltimore Evening Sun* [hereinafter cited *Evening Sun*], March 20, 1989.
2. There have been discrepancies in the number of races Mahoney ran. According to Carl Schoettler, Raymond L. Sanchez, and Melody Simmons, Mahoney ran for office on thirteen occasions. Peter Kumpa agreed. Meanwhile, in a November 3, 1981, edition of the *News American*, the author mentioned that "at least a dozen times, starting 30 years ago, George Mahoney waged state-wide campaigns for public office, either for governor or U.S. senator." If anything, Mahoney ran for public office ten times. He ran for Governor of Maryland in 1950, 1954, 1962, and 1966 and for United States Senator in 1952, 1956, 1958, 1968, and 1970. In 1974, Mahoney ran in his tenth, and final, electoral contest, as he tried to receive the Democratic nomination for County Executive of Baltimore County, Ibid.; Kumpa, "Democrat Mahoney's lifelong grudge aided Republicans," *Evening Sun*, March 22, 1989; "Another Mahoney try is doubtful," *News American* (Baltimore), November 3, 1981; Joseph Albright, *What Makes Spiro Run* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1973), 115; Paul Hoffman, *Spiro!* (New York: Tower Publications, Inc., 1971), 17.
3. Jules Witcover, *White Knight: The Rise of Spiro Agnew* (New York: Random House, 1972), 143.
4. "George Perry Mahoney," *Baltimore Sun* [hereinafter *Sun*], June 27, 1954; According to Joseph Albright, George Mahoney liked to call himself "the boy from the other side of the tracks who made good," Richard Hardesty, "Interview with George P. Mahoney, Jr.," June 21, 2007 [hereinafter Hardesty, "Interview," 2007]; Albright, *What Makes Spiro Run*, 115.
5. In accounts of Mahoney's story, he never divulged the identity of the Columbia professor, Theo Lippman Jr., *Spiro Agnew's America: The Vice President and the Politics of Suburbia* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1972), 74; Adam Spiegel, "George Perry Mahoney: A Man Of Charm, Controversy, Surprises And Raw Drama," *Evening Sun*, November 3, 1966; David Simon and DeWitt Bliss, "Perennial candidate Mahoney dies," *Sun*, March 20, 1989; Lippman, *Spiro Agnew's America: The Vice President and the Politics of Suburbia*, 74; Spiegel, "Mahoney: A Man Of Charm," November 3, 1966; Louis Azrael, "How A Smart Kid Started To Riches," George Perry Mahoney Vertical File, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Cathedral Street, Baltimore [hereinafter Mahoney file, EPFL]; Lippman, *Spiro Agnew's America*, 74; Azrael, "How A Smart Kid Started To Riches," Mahoney file, EPFL. In a questionnaire for the *Howard County Times*, Mahoney indicated that he had taken a few college courses, although he did not finish getting a degree. Ibid.; Spiegel, "Mahoney: A Man Of Charm"; "Candidates for Governor," *Howard County Times* (Ellicott City, Maryland), September 12, 1966.
6. Simon and Bliss, "Perennial candidate Mahoney dies," *Sun*, March 20, 1989; according to George P. Mahoney Jr., his father did all the work. Mahoney included his brothers because he did not want to leave them out. Louis Azrael concurred. In one of his articles about Mahoney, Azrael detailed how Mahoney, not his brothers, employed mechanics to inspect the trucks being auctioned off at Fort Holabird. The inspection provided impressive returns. Of the five trucks Mahoney and his brothers purchased, four of them could be driven off

the lot with the application of oil and gasoline. Azrael does not mention why the fifth truck could not be driven away; however, the damage must have been slight as he later indicated in his article that the Mahoney Brothers had five trucks at their disposal, Hardesty, "Interview" 2007; Azrael, "How A Smart Kid Started To Riches," Mahoney file, EPFL. In starting and expanding his business, Mahoney met Abigail Catherine O'Donnell. She displayed an excellent knowledge in bookkeeping; consequently, Mahoney hired her as a secretary. However, Mahoney and O'Donnell went on to develop a romantic relationship as well. O'Donnell eventually became Mrs. George P. Mahoney. According to Adam Spiegel, "'Aba' was the ideal wife for an aspiring politician. She could take care of the business when [Mahoney] was campaigning, and campaign effectively when he was minding the business." Spiegel, "Mahoney: A Man Of Charm"; "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney File, EPFL.

7. Hardesty, "Interview," 2007; George P. Mahoney Jr. and the *Baltimore Sun* both mentioned Mahoney's efforts to help Western Maryland, but neither source specified a year. Ibid.; "George P. Mahoney," *Sun*, March 21, 1989; "'Big Candidates' Talk About 'Small County' Problems," *The Queen Anne's Record-Observer* (Centreville, Maryland), September 1, 1966; "George P. Mahoney," *Sun*, March 21, 1989.

8. Paul Broderick, "Mahoney Is Named To Racing Board," Mahoney file, EPFL; Mahoney became relatively well-known in horse-show circles as a judge with the American Horse Show Association, not to mention his affiliations with the Maryland Horse Show Association, National Breeders' Association, and the Eastern Saddle Horse Breeders, "Mahoney Seeks Racing Position," Broderick, "Mahoney Is Named To Racing Board," Don Reed, "Mahoney Sells Show Champion," Mahoney file, EPFL.

9. "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney file, EPFL; According to George P. Mahoney Jr., "If a horse was lame, and they would sever a nerve in the back of his ankle. What would happen is that, in some cases when a horse crossed the finish line, his or her hoof would fly off. Lack of circulation." Hardesty, "Interview," 2007; James P. Connolly, "Lane Set To Drop Mahoney From Racing Group," *Evening Sun*, April 21, 1947; For more information regarding Mahoney's career on the Maryland Racing Commission, please see the "Horse Racing, Moral and Religious Aspects" vertical file in the Maryland Room of the Enoch Pratt Free Library; Robert J. Brugger, *Maryland: A Middle Temperament, 1634–1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 570.

10. Bradford Jacobs, "George Mahoney: The Democratic Entry Thrives on Controversy," *Sun*, October 26, 1952; Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 570; James P. Connolly, "Lane Set To Drop Mahoney From Racing Group," *Evening Sun*, April 21, 1947; Spiegel, "Mahoney: A Man Of Charm"; "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney file, EPFL.

11. Spiegel, "Mahoney: A Man Of Charm."

12. Connolly, "Lane Set To Drop Mahoney"; Hardesty, "Interview," 2007; George P. Mahoney Jr. noted that his father was in Louisville, Kentucky, when Lane made his decision. In fact, Mahoney received the news before reaching the podium to give a speech. The *Baltimore Evening Sun* reported the event for its April 22, 1947, edition, interviewing Mahoney himself for the story. According to the article, "[t]he notice came to [Mahoney] last night . . . while he was in a meeting with the committee on licensing of the National Association of State Racing Commissioners." Mahoney had been in Kentucky, the article noted, "to present a report to the convention on his proposal for national licensing and to stand for office in the association." Mahoney stood to become, at the very least, vice president. Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 570; Connolly, "Lane Set To Drop Mahoney"; "Mahoney Still In Field For National Race Job," *Evening Sun*, April 22, 1947; Hardesty, "Interview," 2007. 13. The Bay Bridge, also known as the William Preston Lane Memorial Bridge, arguably became one of

the best known public works projects during Lane's term as governor. Still, the needs of the public during the late 1940s took a toll on the state's finances. As Robert J. Brugger noted, Maryland went from spending thirty-seven dollars per person on social needs in 1945 to sixty-one dollars per person in 1950. State bond issues could not completely cover the costs; consequently, Lane had no other choice but to approve a sales tax. Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 565–69; Callcott, *Maryland Political Behavior: Four Centuries of Political Culture* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1986), 56; George H. Callcott, *Maryland & America: 1940 to 1980* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985), 103–107. People literally threw pennies at Lane whenever he appeared in public, eventually forcing him to cancel public appearances. However, the public did not reserve their wrath for Lane alone. They also expressed their anger towards Lane's wife. According to George H. Callcott, "[o]n one occasion, when Lane's wife presented roses to the winner at a racetrack, people tossed pennies and booed until she was reduced to tears." According to a June 1979 article in *Baltimore Magazine*, "[s]upporters, supposedly without GPM's knowledge, toss pennies at Lane to underscore the tax issue." Ironically, during the 1950 gubernatorial primary, Mahoney sought and received the help of Lillie Carroll Jackson of the NAACP. Peter Kumpa noted that "[t]he University of Maryland was still segregated. Mahoney promised change." During the campaign, Mahoney would go into some districts and campaign for open housing. "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney File, EPFL; Callcott, *Maryland and America*, 108; Jacobs, "Some Politics, Some History," *Evening Sun*, September 22, 1966; Kumpa, "Democrat Mahoney's lifelong grudge aided Republicans," *Evening Sun*, March 22, 1989; Just like the electoral college, the unit rule assigned each county a certain number of votes. The Maryland Court of Appeals declared the unit rule unconstitutional in 1963. "Primary Election Returns, September 18, 1950, Governor," *Maryland Manual 1951-52*, information online at http://www.msa.md.gov/megafile/msa/speccol/sc 2900; "George P. Mahoney," *Sun*, March 21, 1989; Frank F. White, Jr., *Governors of Maryland 1777–1970* (Annapolis: Hall of Records Commission, 1970), 282–83; "'Big Candidates' Talk About 'Small County' Problems," *The Queen Anne's Record-Observer*, September 1, 1966.

14. Callcott, *Maryland and America*, 107; Jacobs, "George Mahoney: The Democratic Entry Thrives On Controversy," *Sun*, October 26, 1952; Hardesty, "Interview," 2007.

15. Robert Marsh, *Agnew: The Unexamined Man* (New York: M. Evans and Company, Inc., 1971), 57; "George P. Mahoney," *Sun*, March 21, 1989; Hardesty, "Interview," 2007; "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney file, EPFL.

16. Kenneth D. Durr, *Behind the Backlash: White Working Class Politics in Baltimore, 1940–1980* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 134; Hardesty, "Interview," 2007; "For United States Senator," 1952 election returns, courtesy of the Maryland State Board of Elections [hereinafter MSBE]; Schoettler et al, "Oft-running candidate Mahoney dies," *Evening Sun*, March 20, 1989; "Primary Election Returns. June 26, 1954. For Governor of Maryland," courtesy MSBE; "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney file, EPFL; "'Big Candidates' Talk; Marsh, *Agnew: The Unexamined Man*, 57.

17. According to John Willis, a historian for the Democratic Party, Mahoney "was a catalyst for disruption and disharmony in the party. He was a negative factor for the party, and the party never found a way to deal with him," "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney File, EPFL; Kumpa, "Democrat Mahoney's lifelong grudge aided Republicans," *Evening Sun*, March 22, 1989; Caroline H. Keith, *"For Hell and a Brown Mule": The Biography of Senator Millard E. Tydings* (New York: Madison Books, 1991), 449–50; Tydings actually defeated Mahoney in the primary; in fact, both had the same number of unit votes. Consequently, the primary went to the candidate who had the most popular votes. Tydings had 142,238 votes,

while Mahoney had 134,246. However, Tydings became too ill to campaign for the general election. When Tydings could not campaign for the general election, Democratic leaders like D'Alesandro and Brooke Lee did not go to Mahoney. They, instead, turned to Tydings wife, Eleanor, believing that the Tydings name gave the Democrats the best chance of defeating John Marshall Butler. Through the strong insistence of Democratic leaders, Eleanor decided to run, only to lose to Mahoney in a unit vote at the party convention in August, "[19]56 Primary," courtesy of the Maryland State Board of Elections, Annapolis; Keith, *"For Hell and a Brown Mule,"* 451–54.

18. Callcott noted that "political professionals 'could not tolerate a demagogue like . . . Mahoney who offered the people only what they wanted and who principally won the support of people who did not fully understand him.'" Callcott, *Maryland and America: 1940–1980*, 141; "George P. Mahoney," *Sun*, March 21, 1989; Hardesty, "Interview," 2007; "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney file, EPFL; Jacobs, "A Little History," *Evening Sun*, October 18, 1966; Coffey, "Spiro Agnew and the Suburbanization of American Politics, 1918–1968," 79.

19. Of course, that same observer noted that Mahoney also showed no signs of depression after experiencing a political defeat, theorizing that "Mahoney was more enamored of the process than the goal." The political observer further believed that Mahoney "always figured that he was going to lose," "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney file, EPFL; Spiegel, "Pressman Made First Political Speech At 14, Hasn't Stopped Politicking Since," *Evening Sun*, November 2, 1966; According to Paul J. Reed Jr., Mahoney's campaign manager in 1966, "he never got [down] about losing. That was the one thing I always admired about him – he never, after the campaign was over, said one harsh word about the opposition. He never gave up. He had more heart than any man I've ever known. Why? He was Irish." Schoettler et al, "Oft-running candidate Mahoney dies," *Evening Sun*, March 20, 1989; Years later, as Chairman of the Maryland State Lottery Commission, Mahoney participated in an advertisement for the Maryland Lottery. The advertisement has him and his second wife, the former Anne Matilda Fagg, dressed as jockeys on race horses, a reference to their participation, past and present, on the Maryland Racing Commission. In fact, Fagg became the first female to serve. One corner of the advertisement has balloons with the phrase "Mahoney Again" written on them, while the other corner has balloons with some of the years Mahoney ran for office. However, the slogan represented the centerpiece of the ad. The slogan told people, "You Gotta Play To Win! Even If You Always Lose" and "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney file, EPFL.

20. Mahoney endured a rough personal hardship nearly a year-and-a-half after the May 1962 gubernatorial primary. In October 1963, Mahoney's wife, Abigail, died of cancer. Some people like Theo Lippman Jr. speculate that his wife's death kept Mahoney from running for a political office in 1964. Lippman, *Spiro Agnew's America*, 75; Jim G. Lucas, *Agnew: Profile in Conflict*, 36; Simon and Bliss, "Perennial candidate Mahoney dies," *Sun*, March 20, 1989; Hardesty, "Interview," 2007.

21. Irving Bernstein, *Guns or Butter: The Presidency of Lyndon Johnson* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 391; "Ahead of Its Time," *Time* 88, no. 14 (September 30, 1966), 4; Coffey, "Spiro Agnew," 72–73.

22. Kenneth O'Reilly, "The FBI and the Politics of the Riots, 1964–1968," *The Journal of American History*, 75, (1988), 93; T. Andrew Reilly, "'Cool Heads' Needed, Not 'Hot Blood'," *Evening Sun*, August 19, 1965.

23. Stephan Lesher, *George Wallace: American Populist* (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1994), 296–98; Blair Lee, IV, "Backlash in Maryland: The Summer of 1966," B.A. thesis (Princeton University, 1967), 69; Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace,*

the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 213; Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, 213.

24. Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, 215; Lesher, *George* Wallace, 304; Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, 215; In 1964, the State Board of Elections did not include a racial breakdown of voter registration figures in each county; "May 19, 1964: For President of the United States," courtesy MSBE; "The Wallace Vote, Maryland Editors Say This," *U.S. News & World Report* 56 (June 1, 1964), 31.

25. Witcover, *White Knight: The Rise of Spiro Agnew*, 122; Journalist Charles Whiteford noted that "[t]he four-way battle for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination is such a puzzler that even the bhoys on The Block with a betting interest in such things are afraid to call it." Meanwhile, Alan Dessoff described the tough primary fight by comparing the Democratic race with the 1966 Baltimore Orioles. Dessoff noted that "[t]he only thing [diners at Bickford's Cafeteria in Baltimore] seem to agree on is that the Orioles are a cinch to win the American League pennant and bring Baltimore a World Series. But if baseball is a one-sided issue here, politics is not," Whiteford, "Democrats' Governor Race Is Regarded As Wide Open," *Baltimore Sun*, August 8, 1966; Alan Dessoff, "Baltimore Is the Hottest Spot in Maryland's Torrid Gubernatorial Battle," *Washington Post*, August 1, 1966; Marsh, *Agnew: The Unexamined Man*, 55.

26. "The Wallace Vote," 62; James T. Yenckel, "Open Home Sales Opposed in Survey," *Washington Post*, September 7, 1966; Charles Whiteford, "Miles Asks Free Homeowner Sale," *Sun*, May 18, 1966; Lee, "Backlash in Maryland: The Summer of 1966," 65–66.

27. Lee, "Backlash in Maryland: The Summer of 1966," 59; one good example of Mahoney going to the public directly occurred in August 1966 when he spoke before the "Citizens Democratic Group of the First District." That night, Mahoney "underlined his bitter opposition to any form of open-occupancy legislation and warned his enthusiastic audience that another Governor might be able to ram such legislation through the General Assembly," "Mahoney Makes His Bid For Segregationist Vote," *Sun*, August 5, 1966; Thomas O'Neill, "Test Run," *Sun*, November 4, 1966; Whiteford, "Democrats' Governor Race Is Regarded As Wide Open," *Sun*, August 8, 1966.

28. Ibid; Jerome Kelly, "Mahoney Strategy: 'Play It By Ear,'" *Evening Sun*, October 4, 1966.

29. It should also be noted that, during Mahoney's discussion of urban decay, he also understood the importance of federal aid to cities. "Mahoney Warns Of Federal Controls," *Evening Sun*, August 24, 1966; Lucas, *Agnew: Profile in Conflict*, 38; Hardesty, "Interview," 2007.

30. "Primary Election Choices," *Sun*, September 4, 1966; Hans Goebel, "Giant Step Backward," *Sun*, September 22, 1966.

31. Kumpa, "Democrat Mahoney's lifelong grudge aided Republicans," *Evening Sun*, March 22, 1989; Whiteford, "Mahoney Labels Himself Ablest," *Sun*, September 30, 1966; Weldon Wallace, "Rabbi Talks on Mahoney," *Sun*, November 5, 1966.

32. Kelly, "Only 17 Realty Men Hear Mahoney Housing Speech," *Evening Sun*, August 18, 1966; Whiteford, "Democrats' Governor Race Is Regarded As Wide Open," *Sun*, August 8, 1966; Lee, "Backlash in Maryland," 67.

33. According to the *Washington Post*, Finan had a 724-vote lead over Mahoney with only two percent of the vote reported, Dessoff, "Finan Takes Lead: Mahoney Is Ahead In Baltimore City," *Washington Post*, September 14, 1966; Kelly, "Mahoney Wins By 1,454 Votes," *Evening Sun*, September 14, 1966; Lucas, *Agnew: Profile in Conflict*, 39; There is a small discrepancy in the number of votes cast for the blank space in Anne Arundel County. According to David C. Goeller, approximately 255 votes had been given to the blank space under Sickles's name. Charles Whiteford and Adam Spiegel indicated that 254 votes went to the blank space. David

C. Goeller, "Arundel Vote Still Not In," *Sun*, September 23, 1966; Whiteford, "Vote Canvass Dims Hopes For Sickles," *Sun*, September 22, 1966; "Sickles's Backers May Ask Recount Over Error in Anne Arundel Machine," *Washington Post*, September 24, 1966; Spiegel, "Recount In Arundel Threatened By Sickles Camp," September 23, 1966; Whiteford, "Sickles Camp Expected To Concede Soon," *Sun*, September 27, 1966; Pickett, "Sickles Clings to Victory Hopes," *Sun*, September 17, 1966; "Mahoney's Margin Now Put at 1829," *Washington Post*, September 22, 1966; Kelly, "Sickles Is Seen Losing Hope Of Catching Up," *Evening Sun*, September 27, 1966; Dessoff, "Sickles Is Reported About to Concede," *Washington Post*, September 28, 1966; "September 13, 1966, Governor of Maryland," courtesy MSBE.

34. The *Sun* noted that Miles "spent most of his years playing the able conciliator, fund-raiser and general water boy for his beloved Democratic Party." In his autobiography, Miles recalled his behind-the-scenes maneuverings that helped Herbert R. O'Conor win the 1938 gubernatorial election. O'Conor had a political reputation for being a New Deal Democrat, and, in the primary, he ran against Baltimore's mayor, and machine politician, Howard W. Jackson. During the primary, Miles had the task of procuring Senator Millard Tydings' neutrality. Tydings had been having, as Miles put it, "a much-publicized debate with President Franklin D. Roosevelt," so the possibility existed that Tydings would come out and support Jackson. Ultimately, Miles succeeded in keeping Tydings neutral, although he did so in part by threatening "to run our own man against Tydings when he came up for re-election that fall." Miles, however, noted that O'Conor faced another stumbling block in the form of Marie Baurenschmidt. As Miles noted, Baurenschmidt represented "a feared and independent voice in Baltimore politics." That opposed one of O'Conor's main backers, William Curran. Consequently, Baurenschmidt supported the incumbent Harry W. Nice. Miles noted the importance of negating Baurenschmidt, which happened towards the end of the campaign. As the campaign came to a close, Baurenschmidt gave a speech on WBAL radio. Miles remembered how O'Conor sat in another studio with a group of stenographers ho transcribed Baurenschmidt's speech. After Baurenschmidt finished, O'Conor proceeded with an immediate rebuttal, which, according to Miles, "had never been accomplished before." O'Conor went on to defeat Nice in 1938 by approximately 66,000 votes. "Clarence W. Miles," *Sun*, October 11, 1977; Clarence W. Miles, *Eight Busy Decades: The Life and Times of Clarence W. Miles*, ed. Jacques W. Kelly (Queenstown, Maryland: White Bank, 1987), 97–99; Opponents and critics used Finan's affiliation with the Tawes administration against him. In the midst of Tawes' decreasing popularity, Stephen F. Fromyer of Glen Burnie wrote a letter to the editor, explaining why some Marylanders negatively viewed Finan's association with Tawes. Fromyer believed that Finan offered "[f]our more years of Tawesism (God forbid that we experience an extension of such institutionalized stagnation)." Furthermore, Finan's association with Tawes left him vulnerable to bossism charges. Journalists like Jules Witcover, Theo Lippman, Jr., and Robert Marsh succinctly summarized Finan as being the organization's candidate. Stephen F. Fromyer, "Democratic Choices," *Sun*, September 8, 1966; Witcover, *White Knight*, 126; Lippman, *Spiro Agnew's America*, 76; Marsh, *Agnew: The Unexamined Man*, 55–56; Miles, "From Clarence W. Miles," *Sun*, September 7, 1966; Ernest Imhoff, "Miles Charges Finan Inaction In 7 Cases," *Sun*, September 7, 1966; "September 13, 1966. Governor of Maryland"; Governor Harry Roe Hughes and John W. Frece, *My Unexpected Journey: The Autobiography of Governor Harry Roe Hughes* (Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2006), 81.

35. "An Editorial: Primary Election Choices," *Sun*, September 4, 1966; Witcover, *White Knight*, 127; Lucas, *Agnew*, 38; Lee, "Backlash in Maryland" 61.

36. Wilber Pinder, Jr., "Mitchell, Welcome Forces Clash," *Evening Sun*, August 18, 1966;

Welcome stood strongly behind Finan during the primary, even when her support hurt her politically. During the 1966 election cycle, Welcome ran for re-election in the Maryland State Senate. Her support of Finan alienated some of her own supporters. For instance, the Americans for Democratic Action (A.D.A.) strongly disagreed with Finan's limited support of open housing. So much so, the A.D.A. threatened to withdrawal their support of Welcome if she did not disassociate herself from Finan. Welcome refused, noting that she saw "no difference between the positions taken by both Mr. Sickles and Mr. Finan." Ibid.; "Mrs. Welcome Refuses To Recant O.K. Of Finan," *Evening Sun*, August 29, 1966; Despite the split, Finan ultimately received the unanimous endorsement of the Fourth District Democratic Organization. The unanimous endorsement, however, rested on shaky ground, as Mitchell had publicly endorsed Sickles. As Mitchell declared, "The Fourth district organization is attempting to ram down the throats of the people a gubernatorial candidate who has never been concerned about them until this election," "After Ruckus, Finan Backed In Fourth," *Evening Sun*, August 9, 1966; Pinder, "Mitchell, Welcome Forces Clash," *Evening Sun*, August 18, 1966; Spiegel, "Two Negro Leaders Eye Agnew Choice," *Evening Sun*, September 21, 1966.

37. "Pre-Mortem," *Sun*, September 20, 1966; Joseph M. Coale, III, "'Bigotry Key Issue,'" *Evening Sun*, September 21, 1966; At the time of publication, Mahoney held a slim lead over Sickles, and Sickles refused to concede the election. Consequently, reports at that time referred to Mahoney's apparent victory, or Mahoney's apparent nomination. The apparent label would be removed when Sickles conceded on September 28, 1966. Franklin, "Mahoney's Victory Shifts Up and Down in Maryland," September 16, 1966; "'White Backlash' Becomes Reality," *Los Angeles Times* (Los Angeles), September 15, 1966.

38. In a memorandum dated April 10, 1972, Dr. Jean Warthen of the Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene noted that "[t]he National Capital Area (Montgomery and Prince George's counties) accounted for the overwhelming share of the state's net in-migrants—almost one-third of a million persons. No county approached the 201,000 net migration gain of Prince George's county. This suburban county was one of only nine in the nation which had a net in-migration gain in excess of 200,000 during the 1960s. Montgomery County, with a net gain of 126,000, was one of 15 counties in the United States with net in-migration of between 100,000 and 200,000 during the decade." Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 561, 582–84, 607–608; Jean Warthen, Ph.D., "Components of Population Change, Maryland: 1960 to 1970," Maryland State Archives, Annapolis; at the onset of the 1960s, Maryland's population centers had little political power. Callcott noted that, "[a]lthough Baltimore and the four suburban counties had seventy-four percent of the population, they formed a minority in the General Assembly, for twenty rural counties with 26 percent of the population had 51 percent of the delegates." The United States Supreme Court stepped in to alter the balance of power. In the 1962 *Baker v. Carr* decision, Justice William J. Brennan explained that the federal courts could decide reapportionment issues. Maryland's Governor Tawes responded by calling a special legislative session in May 1962 that produced a reapportionment plan adding nineteen delegate seats for metropolitan areas. The following year, the Supreme Court struck down Georgia's unit rule, which paralleled Maryland's unit rule. The unit rule represented an electoral formula which determined the outcome of elections. Through the unit rule, each county had a specified value, or unit, attached to it. The county's entire unit would go to the candidate preferred by the majority of voters. Theoretically, a candidate could receive the majority of votes, but could lose the election because he or she did not win a majority of counties. In 1964, the Supreme Court declared equal county representation in state senates unconstitutional, leading Maryland to develop a second reapportionment plan in time for the 1966 election. Callcott, *Maryland & America*, 191–92; Clarence W. Miles

drew considerable support from the Eastern Shore. Born in Cambridge on June 29, 1897, Miles understood the problems facing the Eastern Shore. He and Arthur A. Houghton Jr. established the Wye Institute in 1963, which promoted the "economy, education, and culture" of the Eastern Shore. As *The Queen Anne's Record-Observer* noted in its endorsement of Miles, he "knows and understands local problems and conditions. He knows the values that should be preserved; he knows because he is one of the people. Wye Institute, in part at least his idea, stands as living proof of all this." Miles, *Eight Busy Decades: The Life and Times of Clarence W. Miles*, ed. Kelly, 93–95; "The Primary Candidates," *The Queen Anne's Record-Observer* (Centreville, Maryland), September 8, 1966.

39. Lee, "Backlash in Maryland," 71, 72; Richard Homan, "Anne Arundel Machine Backs Mahoney," *Washington Post*, August 14, 1966; Callcott, *Maryland & America*, 189; Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 612.

40. Lee, "Backlash in Maryland," 75; Coffey, "Spiro Agnew," 84; "September 13, 1966 Governor of Maryland," courtesy MSBE; As an Eastern Shoreman told Blair Lee, IV, "[t]he politicians are backing Finan, but the people are going for Mahoney"; Brugger, Middle Temperament, 619–20.

41. "1966 Count Vote Parallels 1964's," *Sun*, September 18, 1966; Samuel Tilghman, "Democrat Sees Harford Sweep," *Evening Sun*, October 3, 1966; "September 13, 1966. Gov. of Md."

42. Lippman, *Spiro Agnew's America*, 75; "September 13, 1966. Governor of Maryland"; Durr, *Behind the Backlash*, 135–36.

43. According to Justin P. Coffey, "The *Wall Street Journal* predicted that 'the shock waves from Maryland's primary are bound to be felt as far away as the office of California's Democratic Gov. Brown. With his Republican opponent, Ronald Reagan, opposed to any legislative ban on discrimination in housing, Mr. Brown already had been hedging in his support of such a law." "Mahoney Win Should Be Eye-Opener: Dirksen," *Evening Sun*, September 14, 1966; "Rights Bill Periled as Cloture Move Fails," *Los Angeles Times*, September 15, 1966; Coffey, "Spiro Agnew " 82–83. Senator Dirksen used the Democratic primary results to "give pause to Maryland's democratic Senators Tydings and Brewster. He said they had 'distributed hand bills all over Baltimore' for Representative Sickles (D, Md.), a contender for the nomination who supported open housing. "Mahoney Win Should Be Eye-Opener: Dirksen," *Evening Sun*, September 14, 1966.

44. "Mahoney Win Should Be Eye-Opener: Dirksen," *Evening Sun*, September 14, 1966; "Minority Candidates," *Sun*, September 16, 1966.

45. Whiteford, "Mahoney Labels Himself Ablest," *Sun*, September 30, 1966; "Mahoney Rules Out Candidate Debates," *Sun*, October 1, 1966; "No Debates: Mahoney," *Evening Sun*, October 1, 1966; "Mahoney Rules Out Candidate Debates," *Sun*, October 1, 1966; "2 Rivals Derided By Mahoney," *Sun*, October 5, 1966.

46. O'Neill, "Test Run," *Sun*, November 4, 1966; Jacobs, "View from the Other Side," *Evening Sun*, September 27, 1966; The figure of $32,000 came from Pressman's statement of net worth, which he filed with the Secretary of State before the September 13, 1966 primary. Flowers, "Mahoney Rejects Bigotry Charges," *Sun*, November 1, 1966.

47. Marsh, *Agnew: The Unexamined Man*, 57; "The Marvelous Mahoneys," Mahoney file, EPFL; Lucas agreed with Marsh and Grasmick's assessment on Mahoney's speaking style. As Lucas declared, "Mahoney was not even a fair public speaker. He was awful. He stumbled through prepared speeches and, on his own, butchered the language, oftentimes losing his temper and shouting," Lucas, *Agnew*, 40.

48. Margaret Studley, "Oratory," *Sun*, October 17, 1966; Mahoney Scored By 2 Opponents," *Sun*, October 3, 1966; Before Mahoney became the official Democratic nominee, Pressman lashed out at Mahoney, indicating that he "'owes it to the voters' to appear . . . in public de-

bate." Kelly, "Mahoney Hit By Agnew, Pressman," *Evening Sun*, October 18, 1966; "Mahoney Ducks Debate, Says Pressman," *Evening Sun*, September 28, 1966; This did not represent Pressman's first attack on Mahoney for refusing to debate. Before Mahoney became the official Democratic nominee, Pressman lashed out at Mahoney, indicating that he "'owes it to the voters' to appear . . . in public debate." Kelly, "Mahoney Hit By Agnew, Pressman," *Evening Sun*, October 18, 1966; "Mahoney Ducks Debate, Says Pressman," *Evening Sun*, September 28, 1966; Mary Carroll, "Honest Debate," *Sun*, October 22, 1966; Frederick L. Dewberry, Jr. to Spiro T. Agnew, November 9, 1966. The Papers of Spiro T. Agnew, "Correspondence 11/66" Folder, Series 1, Subseries 1, Box 1, Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park [hereinafter cited Agnew Papers].

49. "Lost Leader," *Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), November 4, 1966; "Both Sides," *Sun*, November 4, 1966; Clarence Mitchell, Jr., "Ironically, Those Who Yelp Loudest About Crime Bitterly Oppose Legal Control On The Sale Of Guns," *Afro-American* (Baltimore), November 15, 1966; The Baltimore County Sportsmen had, at the time of the gun control controversy, 750 members; Dan Morgan and Alan Dessoff, "Gun Pledge Repudiated By Mahoney," *Washington Post*, November 3, 1966; "Lost Leader," *Washington Post*, November 4, 1966; In the editorial, the *Sun* noted that the *Washington Post* had pro-gun control leanings, highlighting the problems that arise when two different groups with different viewpoints compare notes on a candidate's stance on particular issues. Fred Brack, "Pressman Assails Mahoney Gun Shift," *Washington Post*, November 4, 1966.

50. Clarence Mitchell Jr. also wrote an article regarding Mahoney's gun control controversy. Although Mitchell did not completely reiterate the points in the *Washington Post* editorial, he did touch upon how the gun control controversy highlighted "the power of real pressure groups in the country." "Lost Leader," *Washington Post*, November 4, 1966; Mitchell, "Ironically, Those Who Yelp Loudest About Crime Bitterly Oppose Legal Control On The Sale Of Guns," *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 15, 1966.

51. "Mahoney Calls Foe Racist," *Sun*, November 4, 1966; Durr, *Behind the Backlash*, 137; Wallace, "Rabbi Talks on Mahoney," *Sun*, November 5, 1966.

52. Feingold also served as Agnew's former human relations commission aide. Justin P. Coffey compared Agnew's focus on the issues with that of Thomas B. Finan and Carlton R. Sickles. As Coffey indicated, "Carlton Sickles and Thomas Finan had discussed similar matters, while deliberately ignoring Mahoney, and his issue. The strategy failed them and it was not working [for] Agnew." Ibid., 137; Coffey, "Spiro Agnew," 94; Edward Feingold to Spiro T. Agnew, "The Politics of This Election," in Witcover, *White Knight*, 138; Robert Goodman, "Points to Stress with Mr. Agnew," Ibid.

53. Whiteford, "Agnew Puts Klan Behind Rival's Drive," *Sun*, October 27, 1966; Flowers, "Agnew Questions His Opponent's Ability," *Sun*, October 25, 1966.

54. Pickett, "Agnew Derides Mahoney Ability," *Sun*, November 1, 1966; Witcover, *White Knight: The Rise of Spiro Agnew*, 143; Whiteford, "Agnew Put Klan Behind Rival's Drive," *Sun*, October 27, 1966.

55. Franklin, "Mahoney Given Edge in Maryland: Coalition for Rival Doubted," *New York Times*, October 30, 1966; "Mahoney Lag Seen in Maryland; May Be Too Late to Help Agnew," *New York Times*, November 6, 1966; Agnew's 455,318 represented 49.5 percent of the 919,760 votes cast, "1966 General Election Returns November 8, 1966 Governor of Maryland," courtesy of the MSBE.

56. Schoettler, "Night Is Long, Slow In Camp Of Mahoney," *Evening Sun*, November 9, 1966; "Mr. Agnew's Victory," *Evening Sun*, November 9, 1966.

57. "Republican Loss," *Sun*, September 5, 1966; Callcott, *Maryland & America*, 107, 140;

Brugger, *Middle Temperament*, 572, 577; Whiteford, "Mahoney Men Pushing Unity," *Sun*, September 20, 1966; At the time of the editorial, Mahoney held a slight lead over Sickles, and no one at the time really knew who would officially win the Democratic nomination. The full quote from the *Baltimore Sun* editorial factored in the uncertainty surrounding the outcome of the Democratic primary, noting that "[t]he party unity that Mr. Mahoney now calls for will be difficult to achieve, if it can be achieved at all. Many of Mr. Sickles's supporters simply will not support Mr. Mahoney nor, should the official count find Mr. Sickles the winner after all, will Mr. Mahoney's entire support go to Mr. Sickles, by any means." "After the Voting," *Sun*, 15 September 1966; "Democratic Dilemma," *Washington Post* (Washington, D.C.), September 30, 1966.

58. Kelly, "Mahoney Gets Sickles Unit Backing," *Evening Sun*, October 8, 1966; Kelly, "Finan Pledged Mahoney Support," *Evening Sun*, September 29, 1966; Robert A. Erlandson, "Tawes Terse In Support Of Mahoney," *Sun*, September 30, 1966.

59. Tom Wickers, "The Muldoons Protect the Castle," *New York Times*, October 20, 1966; Kelly, "Mahoney Gains Prince Georges Strength," *Evening Sun*, October 1, 1966.

60. Bradford Jacobs, "Agnew Awaits," *Evening Sun*, September 9, 1966; Whiteford, "2 Candidates Agree Taxes Must Go Up," *Sun*, October 4, 1966; Whiteford, "Tawes Terse In Support Of Mahoney," *Sun*, September 30, 1966; When Tawes' comment came to light, he said, "[y]ou know, that was an awful heated campaign – there were a lot of comments made." Tawes even read a poem, which read, "I'm careful of the words I say/To keep them soft and sweet/Because I never know from day to day/Which ones I'll have to eat." Jack Kneece, "Tawes Grins, 'Eats Words' On Mahoney," *Washington Post*, November 4, 1966; Kathryn B. Dibell, "'I'll Eat My Words,' Tawes Says Of Mahoney Slur," *Evening Sun*, November 3, 1966; Lucas, *Agnew*, 42.

61. Cookie Rosenthal, "Tawes Indorsement," *Sun*, October 4, 1966; William H. Adkins, II, "Political Party Ethics," *Sun*, October 21, 1966; Kevin M. Purcell, "State's Future Above Party Loyalty," *Evening Sun*, November 1, 1966.

62. Whiteford, "Big Revolt Gains Among Democrats," *Sun*, September 18, 1966; "Letter Brings No Mahoney Comment," *Evening Sun*, September 17, 1966; Whiteford, "Big Revolt Gains Among Democrats," *Sun*, September 18, 1966; Seman's letter did create a negative response among numerous Maryland voters. According to Anne B. Hancock of Baltimore, "[t]he quote in the letter written by Truman T. Semans to the Democratic party leaders was to me disgusting. Mr. Semans, supposedly a gentleman, head of a banking firm and finance chairman of Maryland, should have known better than to have used such a word as he did." M. L. Finkelstein defended Mahoney against Seman's attack. In questioning why Semans would attack Mahoney, Finkelstein went on to explain that "Mr. Mahoney's main plank was the protection of the individual's right to property. He is opposed to government control in the form of so-called open housing legislation, urban renewal, or hidden behind any other façade." Finkelstein went on to compare left-wing Democrats with Socialists, noting that left-wing Democrats, like Socialists, value human rights above property rights. In the end, Finkelstein stated that "[t]he 'dung' which Mr. Semans threw at Mr. Mahoney is hereby respectfully returned." Ibid.; Anne B. Hancock, "Disgusting," *Sun*, September 21, 1966; M. L. Finkelstein, "Mahoney Supporter," *The Queen Anne's Record-Observer* (Centreville, Maryland), October 13, 1966.

63. In his article, Jacobs mapped out how Mahoney's nomination spelled trouble for Brewster and Tydings. Jacobs noted that Mahoney's victory turned Tydings dream of reform into a nightmare. As Jacobs explained, "[Tydings] dreamed of reform only to get backlash instead." Brewster's situation seemed a bit more problematic, as he would be up for re-election in 1968. As Jacobs declared, Brewster "must try for reelection two years hence. It is he

who must face at the polls in 1968 the political residue of 1966, who may even find his old backlashing antagonist of two years ago, George Wallace, of Alabama, once again heating up the Maryland air. Add to this the not-impossible forecast that next time may find Mr. Mahoney in the governor's chair, recalling bitterly any Brewster missteps today. The Senator has much to ponder." Whiteford, "Democrats Adopt Mahoney's 'Castle,'" *Sun*, October 14, 1966; Flowers, "Mahoney Reiterates Slogan," *Sun*, October 18, 1966; Whiteford, "Two To Shun Convention," *Sun*, October 11, 1966; "Mahoney's Shoes Near Trail's End," *Sun*, October 26, 1966; Jacobs, "Silence on the Hill," *Evening Sun*, September 23, 1966.

64. According to the *Sun* editorial on Acheson's endorsement, the paper stated that Acheson "took up residence in Montgomery county, Maryland, some three decades ago, and has maintained his residence there through his career as a Washington attorney and a Government official." "In Montgomery County," *Baltimore Sun*, October 20, 1966; In Acheson's letters, he paralleled the actions of the Democratic convention with the actions of the southern states in the aftermath of Abraham Lincoln's election as president. Acheson stated that "the Democratic convention under the leadership of Mr. Mahoney has seceded from the national party to join the Wallace Confederacy." Dean Acheson, "Acheson on Mahoney," *Washington Post*, October 19, 1966; Acheson, "Acheson for Agnew," *Sun*, October 19, 1966; "In Montgomery County," *Sun*, October 20, 1966.

65. According to Justin P. Coffey, "President Lyndon Johnson quietly sent word that he would not campaign for George Mahoney." Mahoney, Coffey continued, did not care. In fact, as Coffey exclaimed, "Mahoney told the crowd that he had not asked for the president's help anyway." Ernest B. Furgurson, "Johnson Mum On Mahoney Indorsement," *Sun*, October 6, 1966; Coffey, "Spiro Agnew", 95; Whiteford, "State Visit By Johnson 'Unlikely,'" *Sun*, September 25, 1966; Max Johnson, "LBJ Shuns George Mahoney," *Afro-American*, October 22, 1966.

66. C. Byron Guy to Carlton R. Sickles, September 28, 1966, The Papers of Carlton R. Sickles, "Endorse Mahoney" Folder, Box 84. Hornbake Library, University of Maryland, College Park [hereinafter cited Sickles Papers]; William M. David, Jr. to Carlton R. Sickles, September 21, 1966, Sickles Papers; Bart Barnes, "Sickles All But Backs Agnew," *Washington Post*, November 7, 1966; Barnes and Weil, "Carlton R. Sickles Dies; Called 'Father of Metro,'" *Washington Post*, January 18, 2004.

67. Montgomery County had 60,462 registered Republicans. Moreover, Montgomery County had 10,288 voters who did not register as a Democrat or a Republican. The State Board of Elections, consequently, placed them within the column of "Registered All others." While Montgomery County had the third highest voter registration total in Maryland, they only ranked fourth statewide with 110,135 registered Democrats. "Registration Figures – General Election November 8, 1966"; Lucas, Agnew, 40–41; Robert A. Gang submitted a Letter to the Editor to the *Baltimore Sun*. As a group, they split when it came to endorsing a candidate. Some members endorsed Agnew, while others endorsed Pressman. However, they remained united in their opposition to Mahoney. As Gang stated, "There was a sharp division of opinion among Democratic voters at the meeting: as a result we took no action indorsing either candidate. The meeting was adjourned with all present agreed in their repudiation of Mr. Mahoney." Robert A. Gang, "In Montgomery County," *Sun*, October 21, 1966; Shanahan, "Agnew Is Victor In Maryland Race," *New York Times*, November 9, 1966.

68. Prince George's County had 40,433 registered Republicans, and the county had an additional 6,408 registered voters who did not affiliate with either the Democratic or Republican Party, Overall, Prince George's County had the third highest total of registered Democrats. "Registration Figures—General Election November 8, 1966"; Lee, "Backlash in Maryland," 86; Averill, "GOP's Agnew Whips Mahoney in Maryland," *Los Angeles Times*,

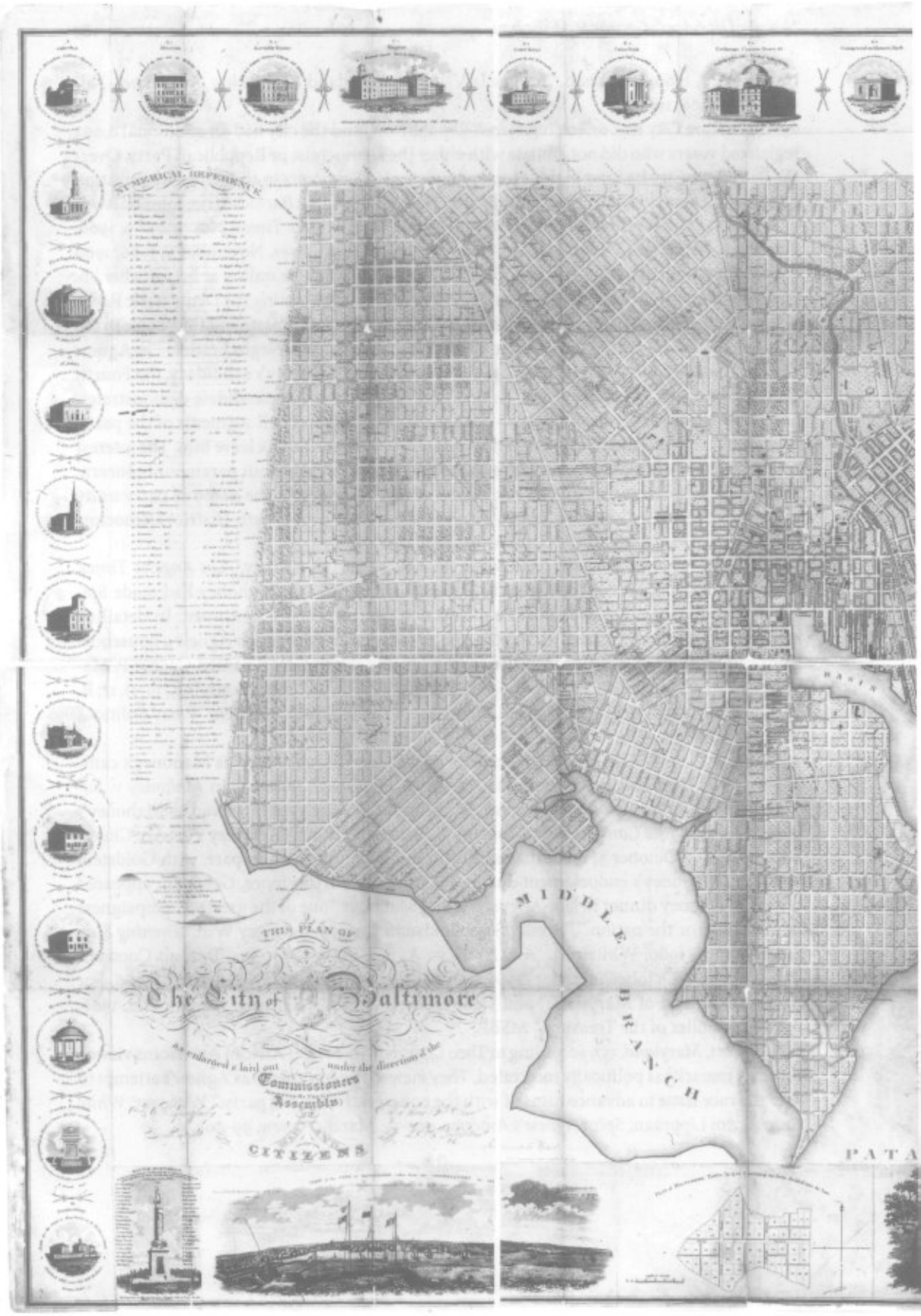
November 9, 1966; Shanahan, "Agnew Is Victor In Maryland Race," *New York Times*, November 9, 1966; 1960

69. Baltimore City had 67,403 registered Republicans, and the city had an additional 6,094 registered voters who did not affiliate with either the Democratic or Republican Party. Overall, Baltimore City had the highest total of registered Democrats in the state. "Registration Figures – General Election November 8, 1966"; Durr, *Behind the Backlash*, 137; John H. Averill, "GOP's Agnew Whips Mahoney in Maryland," *Los Angeles Times*, November 9, 1966; Shanahan, "Agnew Is Victor In Maryland Race," *New York Times*, November 9, 1966; 1960 United States Census (Washington, D.C.), information available online at http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/; When asked about leaving the Democratic Party, Mitchell stated, "[w]hen the Democratic party is no longer representative of the people in the party, then I feel under no obligation to support it." Spiegel, "Two Negro Leaders Eye Agnew Choice," *Evening Sun*, September 21, 1966; In repudiating Mahoney's candidacy, the Fourth District reiterated Mitchell's views, stating that, "[w]hen a major candidate demonstrates, however—through words and deeds—that he does not represent all segments of the party, then party labels become secondary. Mr. Mahoney left us, we did not leave him. The interest and welfare of the people we represent and those who support us are our paramount concern. To ask our supporters to back the candidacy of Mr. Mahoney in the name of party unity would not only be a disservice, but an insult to their intelligence." "4th District Democrats Back Agnew," *Afro-American*, October 29, 1966.

70. Bartlett, "Maryland Democrats Battle for a Republican's Victory," *Los Angeles Times*, November 4, 1966; Marsh concluded by indicating that "George Mahoney had made Spiro Agnew governor of Maryland." Paul Hoffman shared Marsh's sentiment. In detailing Agnew's rise, Hoffman stated, "[i]f credit—or blame—for making Spiro Agnew a household word can be allotted, a major measure must be meted out to a man named George P. Mahoney." Marsh, *Agnew*, 68; Hoffman, *Spiro!* (New York: Tower Publications, Inc., 1971), 17; R. W. Duncan, "Backlashers' Issue," *Sun*, November 1, 1966; Edward Witten, "Party Politics," *Sun*, November 7, 1966.

71. During the 1954 Democratic gubernatorial primary, Burch served as Mahoney's campaign manager in Baltimore City. Burch became Mahoney's attorney in *Mahoney v. Superintendent of Elections* later that year. Six years later, Burch again served as Mahoney's attorney in *San Jose Construction Company v. Mahoney*. "Burch-Mahoney Ties Are Cited," *Baltimore Sun*, October 3, 1966; the basis of Bresler's claim rested, in part, with Goldstein accepting Mahoney's endorsement during the primary. Furthermore, Goldstein appeared at a pro-Mahoney dinner in late-August, calling Mahoney "one of the greatest campaigners in Maryland or the nation." "Bresler Says Goldstein Caused Mahoney Win," *Evening Sun*, September 21, 1966; Whiteford, "A.D.A. Backs Agnew, Asks Pressman To Quit Contest," *Baltimore Sun*, October 16, 1966; "1966 General Election Returns, November 8, 1966. For Attorney General of Maryland," and "1966 General Election Returns, November 8, 1966, For Comptroller of the Treasury," MSBE.

72. Callcott, *Maryland*, 157; according to Theo Lippman, Jr., several African Americans viewed Agnew's remarks as politically motivated. They viewed the comments as Agnew's attempt to use "the race issue to advance himself with the conservatives in the party," Witcover, *White Knight*, 170; Lippman, *Spiro Agnew's America*, 112–13; Marsh, *Agnew*, 99–104.


NUMERICAL REFERENCE
THIS PLAN OF
The City of Baltimore
as enlarged & laid out under the direction of the
Commissioners
Assembly
CITIZENS
MIDDLE BRANCH
BASIN

Thomas Poppleton's Map: Vignettes of a City's Self Image

Jeremy Kargon

Written histories of Baltimore often refer to the *Plan of the City of Baltimore*, published originally in 1823. Typically but imprecisely credited to Thomas Poppleton, this map illustrated the city plan he produced between 1816 and 1822. City politicians had commissioned a survey just before the War of 1812, but Poppleton began his work in earnest only after the conflict ended. Once adopted, the work determined the direction of Baltimore's growth until well after the Civil War.[1] Although this street layout significantly influenced the city's nineteenth-century development, a second feature of this document has also attracted historians of the city's architecture. The map's publisher's arranged thirty-five small engravings around the border of the map illustrating public buildings in use or under construction at the time of the original publication. They gave each illustration a simple title and provided additional descriptive information about the building, including the architect's name, the building's date of completion, and the building's cost. These pictures are a useful record of Baltimore's earliest significant architecture, particularly for those buildings demolished before the age of photography.

Historians' treatments of these images, and of the map itself, have typically looked at these illustrations individually.[2] Consideration of their ensemble, on the other hand, provides evidence for discussion of two broader themes, the public's perception of architecture as a profession and as a source of shared material culture, and the development of that same public's civic identity as embodied in those buildings. What was significant about the buildings chosen for representation? What did later views of Baltimore derive from this selection? Two centuries after Poppleton's proposal for Baltimore's expansion, a closer look at this historical map suggests ways in which the city's citizens may have chosen to build a civic self-narrative unique to their circumstances and their times.

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The Plan of the City of Baltimore as enlarged and laid out under the direction of the Commissioners, *Thomas Poppleton, 1822 (partial view). The buildings selected for artistic rendering around the border of this map reflect the city's identity as a growing commercial center with a strong religious and civic foundation.*

The city plan depicted on the 1823 map has been widely cited but scarcely documented. Little is known of the plan's surveyor. Some sources refer to him as English-born, but the date at which he arrived in the United States has not been determined. One writer has suggested that "Poppleton . . . was chosen for the city-paid assignment over better-known local talent, not because he was the most technically qualified but because he had a penchant for making his work attractive."[3]

In addition to his work for Baltimore, Poppleton is known to have prepared a survey for the "greater part of New York City," published in 1817. This plan, too, includes a key to places of interest, as well as ferry lines, house numbers, and even the family names of houses beyond the dense areas of the city. The graphic character of the New York map anticipated the later Baltimore survey and although the northern work did not include the architectural drawings, the limited topographical data is an important difference. The greatest significance is the very example of New York's famous Commissioners' Plan, first proposed for that city in 1807 and formally adopted four years later, in 1811. New York's simple grid-iron street extension, applied with little care for either the land's natural contours or the irregularity of the river's edge, would have surely been the foremost example for other American cities also considering expansion.

Baltimore City contracted with Poppleton as early as 1811 for a survey of the city's existing roads and plots and a sketch entitled *An Eye Sketch of Part of the Town and Environs of Baltimore taken without regard to accuracy,* over Poppleton's own name, dates to 1812. But the War of 1812 and the attempted invasion of the city in 1814 quite naturally discouraged continuous work on the project. The immediate impetus for renewed work on the survey came in 1817, when the Maryland General Assembly approved Baltimore's annexation of more than thirteen square miles from the surrounding Batimore County. The boundaries of the city now reached far beyond the area of urban settlement.[4]

To facilitate the integration of this area into the city proper, the Maryland State Legislature passed an act that, in the words of one writer, "was neither more nor less than a new charter for the city." The twelfth section of this act established a Board of Commissioners, to which was designated the power to survey (that is, to lay out) "all such streets, lanes, and alleys as they shall deem proper and convenient." The board included prominent Baltimoreans such as John Eager Howard, John Hillen, William McMechen and others who worked autonomously, separately from Baltimore's mayor and its city council. In their own view, the commissioners would need to exercise their "wisdom and discretion and judgment" alone in fulfillment of their role.[5]

The Board of Commissioners turned to Poppleton to complete the survey and he submitted the finished plan in 1822, documented in two plats tendered to both the city register and the county clerk. There appears to have been some public disagreement about the technical quality of the survey and about the city's own re-

sponsibility for the expenses that Poppleton and the Board of Commissioners incurred. Poppleton himself wrote to the *Federal Gazette* and explained the apparent discrepancies among dimensions given on the plat. Referring to a technical matter still familiar to architects and engineers today, Poppleton explained that "dimensions *in figures* are always preferable to reference to a scale. Figures give the truth, the same *to all enquiries at all times.*"[6]

The *Plan of the City of Baltimore*, including its accompanying illustrations, was published the very next year. Although the immediate circumstances of the map's publication remain unclear it is apparent that the Board of Commissioners eagerly sought to defend its work against criticism in the "court" of public opinion. The creation and sale of an attractively-illustrated map would actively promote Poppleton's plan for the city more successfully than a standard surveyor's plat.

Extant copies of the map are sized approximately 112 x 125 cm. and some copies are mounted on linen. Printed with steel-plate engraving, the map included three significant features. The most obvious was the plan of Baltimore and encompassed, without change, the existing street layout at the city's core as well as Poppleton's projected grid of streets that extended to the boundaries of the annexed "Precincts" (no topographic data was included on the plan).[7] The second feature included the location of existing buildings, many keyed to a numerical legend situated to the left of the map. Eighty-three entries populated this list, among them churches (entries 1–23), banks (24–30), offices (31–42), and schools, hotels, markets, factories, etc. The map's publishers also included a "Fish Inspection House" (entry 73), listed in the legend and located by number on the City Plan.

The third feature, surrounding all these elements, was unique for its time. Below the location legend was the following note: "The views which embellish this Work form a distinct *Alphabetical Reference* the letter over each subject referring to its location on the Plan." These views are the engraved vignettes of Baltimore's "public" buildings, each of which the artist set in a rosette of textual information, separated by a repeating floral flourish. In addition to these sketches several views, located at the bottom of the sheet, depicted Baltimore's two landmarks, the Washington Monument and the Battle Monument. Poppleton provided two addition views

of the city, aerial scenes from the top of what is now Federal Hill, a contemporary view (circa 1822) on the left and a revised sketch of Moale's famous 1752 drawing of Baltimore. A final graphic in the middle, at the bottom of the page, illustrated Baltimore Town's original subdivision dating to its founding circa 1729. These images, printed on narrow strips, joined the perimeter of the central sheet that bore the city plan.

In the later years of the eighteenth century, John Moale sketched this 1752 view of Baltimore Town as he remembered it from his childhood. This early rendering offered no suggestion of the booming industrial economy that transformed the city in the years following the American Revolution.

A precedent for the inclusion of such subject matter on a map did exist in Baltimore. The 1801 *Warner and Hanna* map, dated 1801, included three insets showing similar information. One inset framed a legend titled "References," and two others held pictures of the city's waterfront Market Place and its newly-built Assembly Rooms. Overall *non sequitur* additions, the graphic quality of the images appears much cruder than that of the engravings included on the Poppleton map.[8]

Title and authorship is in the lower left hand quadrant of the central sheet:

> This Plan of the The City of [9] Baltimore as enlarged & laid out under the direction of the Commissioners Appointed By The General Assembly of Maryland In Feby. 1818. As Respectfully Dedicated to the citizens thereof By their Obt. Servt. T. H. Poppleton Surveyor to the Board.

The map's title bears two additional names. Below the surveyor's name is written, in small type, "C.P. Harrison Script, Sculpt New York 1823." Charles Peter Harrison (1783–1854) actually published the map, the fabrication of which occurred in New York and not Baltimore. English-born like Poppleton, Harrison was the son of William Harrison Sr., an engraver of fine prints and bank notes. C. P. Harrison combined his father's skills as an engraver with a printing business, which moved to New York from Philadelphia only a few years before he published Poppleton's map. Although his work as an engraver included a wide range of subjects, Harrison's name is attached to at least one other map, an 1811 plan of Philadelphia, drawn by William Strickland at the direction of John Paxton.[10]

The other name on the Poppleton map is set in bold text and centered immediately below the word "CITIZENS," and credits an engraver, "Public Buildings &c. Engd. by J. Cone." This artist, Joseph Cone, and not Thomas Poppleton, created the architectural images from which the "Poppleton's Map"—as an artifact—derives its fame.

Joseph Cone (1792–1831) was an engraver, born in Princeton, New Jersey, who spent most of his early life in Philadelphia. He had been trained to enter either law

or medicine, but "an early passion for art . . . turned his mind towards engraving as the readiest means of at once satisfying a passion and earning a living." He settled in Baltimore around 1820 and supplemented his technical work with publishing. Cone's name is associated with several engraving techniques, including both line and stipple. Active in the Baptist Church, Cone belonged to the community responsible for commissioning Robert Mills whose "First Baptist Church" is depicted in Cone's hand on the border of Poppleton's Map.[11]

Cone's illustrations for Poppleton's Map appear to make use only of line engraving. Shade and shadow is provided by cross-hatching, and material effects are limited to the suggestion of masonry coursing by fine, horizontal hatching. Cone's pictures demonstrate close attention to detail, but those details can prove to be incorrect upon comparison with extant buildings. A common occurrence is the omission of columns or of other repeated building elements, perhaps in order to simplify the compositions due to the small size of each engraved picture. In Cone's depiction of Godefroy's St. Mary's Chapel, for example, the niches at the top of the facade number eight but the actual structure holds twelve. The direction of shading, too, reflects convention and not the physical orientation of the building. Nevertheless, as these examples attest, Cone's engravings provided a wealth of small-scale information about his architectural subject matter.

In deciding which pictures to include on this plan for the city's future, the map's creators sought to announce how far Baltimore had come towards its potential as one of the nation's largest and most industrious cities. In this first edition of Poppleton's map, Cone illustrated thirty-five buildings in addition to the two monuments. These buildings, and their letter-key, are titled in the following way:

Letter Key for Map Images

A*) Museum, B*) Assembly Rooms, C*) Hospital, D*) Court House, E*) Union Bank, F*) Exchange, Custom House, Etc., G*) Commercial and Farmers Bank, H*) University of Maryland, I*) Alms House, K*) Masonic Hall, L*)Theatre

A) Cathedral, B) St. Paul's, C) First Baptist Church, D)St. John's, E) Christ Church, F) German Lutheran Church, G) St. Mary's Chapel, H) Friends Meeting House, I) Eutaw Meeting, K) Western Fountain, L) Centre Fountain, M) Penitentiary

N) First Independent Church, O) German Reformed Church, P) Evangelical Reformed Church, Q)Associated Reformed Church, R) St. Patrick's, S) Trinity Church, T) First Presbyterian Church, V) Second Presbyterian Church, W) Light Street Meeting, X) Eastern Fountain, Y) Northern Fountain, Z) Jail

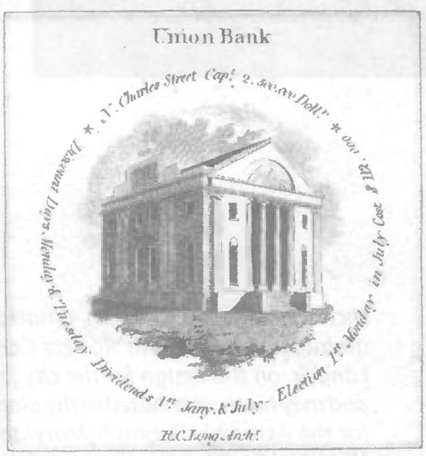
Joseph Cone's engravings provided a wealth of small-scale information about his architectural subject matter. From left to right: First Baptist Church, St. Mary's Chapel, Alms House, Cathedral, Assembly Rooms, Theatre, Museum, and Masonic Hall, and Union Bank.


Alms House
Enlarged by Trustees of Poor House of Baltᵒ Co: Began 1820. Not yet Complete.
Estimated Cost 100,000 Dolls.
J. Moreton Archt.

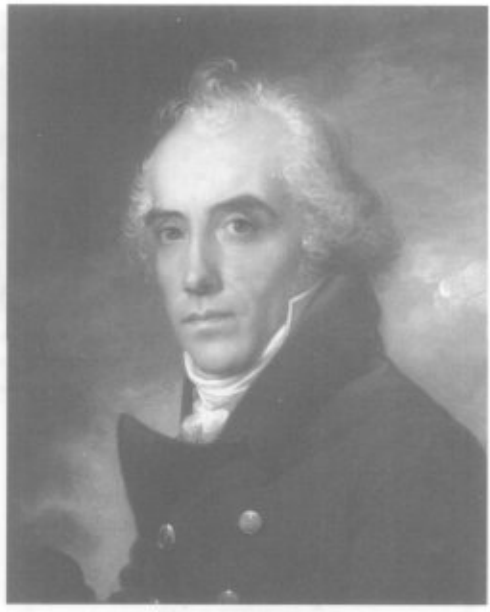

Theatre
Built on Holliday Street A.D. 1793.
Rebuilt by Warren and Wood A.D. 1818. Cost Fifty Thousand Dollars
R.C. Long Archt.


Museum
and Gallery of the Fine Arts in Holliday Street
Established by Rembrandt Peale AD 1813 Cost 18,000 D.
R.C. Long Archt.

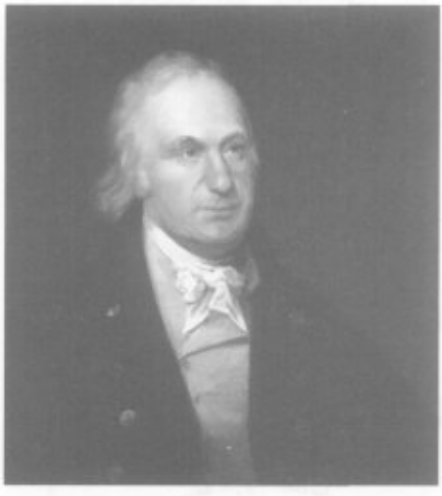

Masonic Hall
Corner of St. Pauls St and Court House Lane
Erected by the Gd. Lodge of Maryland. Began 1813.
J. Small Archt.


Union Bank
Charles Street Capl. 2.500.000 Dollr.
Discount Days Monday & Thursday. Dividends 1st Jany. & July. Election 1st Monday in July Cost
R.C. Long Archt.

French architect Maximilian Godefroy (1765–1840) designed many of the buildings shown on the Poppleton map, including St. Mary's Chapel, the First Independent Church, and the Battle Monument. The University of Maryland, The Custom House, and the Exchange are among those that the cartographer incorrectly attributed to B. Henry Latrobe. (Courtesy of the Maryland Commission on Artistic Property of the Maryland State Archives.)



John Eager Howard (1752–1827), belonged to Baltimore's independent Board of Commissioners appointed to lay out the city's streets, lanes, and alleys. (Maryland Historical Society.)



Nicholas Rogers (1753–1822), amateur architect worked with Robert Cary Long Sr. on the design for the city jail and may have contributed to the plans for the Assembly Rooms." (Maryland Historical Society.)

> [Entries A* through L* are placed at the top of sheet, in a row from left to right. Entries A through M descend vertically on the left side of the sheet; N through Z descend vertically on the right side of the sheet.]

This arrangement is itself worth noting as the map's publishers apparently grouped the buildings thematically. Those buildings placed at the top of the sheet were exclusively secular, places of culture, society, commerce, and charity. Those buildings illustrated along the sides of the sheet were religious in nature, with the apparent exceptions of the two buildings used for incarceration and four public water fountains. Nevertheless, the overall distribution of the buildings' functions was as follows:

Illustrated Buildings by Function:

Monuments	2	
Churches	18	
Museum	1	
Civic Buildings	2	(Courthouse and Assembly Building)
Hospital	2	(Hospital and Medical Teaching Structure)
Commercial	3	(Banks and the Exchange / Custom House)
Fountain	4	(Public Water Supplies)
Alms House	1	
Social/Entertainment	2	(Masonic Hall and Theater)
Jail	2	
Total	37	(Including Monuments)

Almost one-half of those structures illustrated were, therefore, religious buildings and included Latrobe's prominent Cathedral and Mills's First Baptist Church both of which were either just completed or under construction at the time of the map's publication. Maximillian Godefroy's talents were shown in two ecclesiastical projects, St. Mary's Chapel and his later First Independent (Unitarian) Church. Older places of worship such as the Evangelical Reformed Church and the Friends Meeting House appeared as well, both dating to the 1780s. Among the churches pre-dating Baltimore's incorporation, the most prominent was undoubtedly Dalrymple's First Presbyterian Church, the two domed towers of which announced its distinction among the city's early houses of worship.

Poppleton evenly distributed his choices of non-religious buildings among others constructed for public functions. The two monuments uniquely expressed the era's conception of public display, commemoration, and monumentality. Shared by many of the buildings constructed after the War of 1812, repsublican symbols such as Roman-type fasces were explicit symbols of the city's recently forged civic pride. And, furthermore, the map's implicit proposition that other secular buildings might perform a similar role marks a change from the expectations of the period preceding the Early Republic.[12]

Consider, for example, the Penitentiary and the Jail, both depicted on the map. Although the buildings were physically located on adjacent plots on a single, large city block to the east of the Jones Falls, Poppleton separated them by the full width of the sheet, with the jail on the right margin and the penitentiary on the left. The placement of these pictures, each at the bottom of a vertical array otherwise showing religious buildings, implies that the instruments of punishment and reform had some spiritual kinship with the organized institutions of salvation.

Robert Carey Long Sr. had completed the jail in 1802 with the aid and advice of Colonel Nicholas Rogers, an amateur architect of considerable wealth and political standing.[13] As illustrated on the Poppleton map, the design included architectural details apparently thought to be suitable for its purpose, such as thin windows and smaller round apertures, which recall defensive structures. The design also includes crenellation at the building's flanks, pointing towards the future adoption of Tudor motifs in the jail's reconstruction almost sixty years later. It is worth comparing these decorative eccentricities to the serious monumentality of Latrobe's prison for Virginia, completed two years before Long's jail for Baltimore.[14] In fact, Latrobe's design lacks decorative "expressiveness" over most of the area of his facade and instead allows the penitentiary gate alone to bear both the decor and proportion of a monumental structure. Obviously, the two buildings could hardly be more different, if only because Long (and Rogers) had neither the training nor experience at that time to match Latrobe's intellectual and professional capacities. Long's and Latrobe's designs, however, did share the premise that even a prison structure might participate in what Dell Upton has called the "cultural landscape."[15]

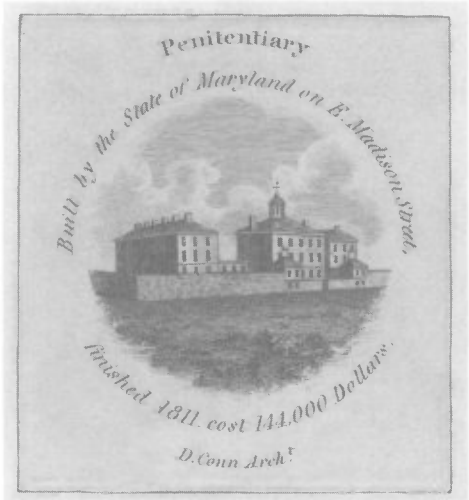
Conversely, the design of Baltimore's penitentiary completed almost a decade later, seemed to hearken back to earlier, and lesser, expectations. Its builder, Daniel

Conn, has been described as "typical of the group of carpenters . . . [whose] designs had little or no architectural value."[16]

Yet those who witnessed its construction waited, eager to see in its walls "that monument which the State has erected to its humanity and wisdom." Such comments testify as well to the stucture's inclusion upon the map.[17] Public acknowledgement therefore, dependent on prominent memories or actions, often played a more significant role than architecture in defining municipal identity. Thus, in the early years of the city's incorporation, almost any new institution could have claimed such prominence. As a visual expression of public morality, Conn's penitentiary might have "spoken" hardly at all, but the very fact of its commission was more than sufficient to assure its inclusion among Baltimore's most significant buildings.

This "ritualistic" understanding of how a community might construct a kind of civic-mindedness, embodied in its architecture, is underscored by the map's most striking omission—Fort McHenry. The fort does appear on the map's plan, but its location is neither listed on the numerical legend nor illustrated as an "embellishment" of the city. A place, in and of itself, simply was of little immediate significance to municipal Baltimore's newly-defined identity. Rather, that identity came to be defined reciprocally by the memory of that place and by its commemoration. Not surprisingly, it is a monument to a battle, and not that battle's location, that figured so prominently among this map's features.

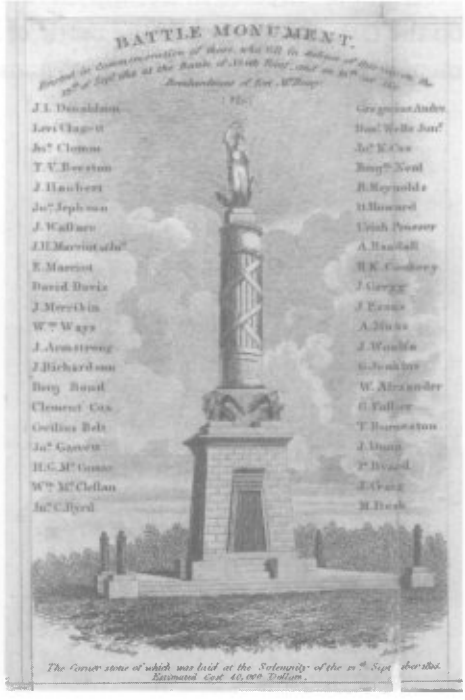
The drawing of the Battle Monument was placed at the lower left side of the sheet, just below the map's dedication. Its illustration included, too, an additional description: "Erected in Commemoration of those, who fell in defense of this City, on the 12th of Sept. 1814 at the Battle of North Point, and on 13th. at the Bombardment of Fort McHenry." Forty-two names, in two columns, flank the picture of the



Battle Monument, below which is recalled the act of dedication. "The Corner stone of which was laid at the Solemnity of the 12th. September 1815. / Estimated Cost $10,000." Although the mention of cost together with a "solemnity" might seem bathetic today, the monument's design and dedication (and its underwriting and construction) galvanized civic activity, more so, perhaps, than the battle itself. By 1827, only four years after Poppleton included the image of the monument on the map, city officials placed a similar sketch of the Battle Monument on its municipal insignia, where it remains.

Architecture

As conceived and executed by Joseph Cone, the images of Baltimore's public buildings share several characteristics. Almost all of the structures are depicted as stand-alone buildings, set in verdant surroundings. (The single exception, the Centre Fountain, although shown in isolation, is set not upon the earth, or among plantings, but upon a paved surface.) In fact, as their location on the map indicates, many of these buildings stood in densely-settled parts of Baltimore. Although drawing the buildings without their actual context may have served to accentuate each building and its design, doing so also betrayed an implicit assumption that the urban spaces surrounding these structures did not merit equally honorable attention. Cone illustrated most of the buildings in perspective and just four in elevation, among them the Museum, the Masonic Hall, and the Theatre, the designs of which favored their



street-side facades. The Centre Fountain, mentioned before, also appears front-on, perhaps due to its small size. Latrobe's Cathedral, however, although drawn in perspective like most other buildings, was illustrated by a *rear* view, looking towards both the east and south sides of a building still unfinished at the time of the map's publication. Cone chose to omit the domed towers and the portico that Latrobe had already conceived and drawn. Builders, however, did not add these features until 1831 and 1863 respectively.

Cone's engravings appear, in retrospect, to have acknowledged a diversity of styles in Baltimore's public architecture. Writers have mentioned the tendency towards classicism in the detailing of those buildings shown on the map, and, to be sure, the influence of such talented designers such as Latrobe, Mills, and Godefroy would have encouraged that trend in others.[18] Yet the details of that classicism are not visually dominant among these images. Rather, taken together, the buildings shown illustrate extensive contrasts due to different massing (the shape of a building and how the large shapes relate), scales, and formal typologies. At a glance, no two buildings on the map look similar and furthermore, upon a second look, only the older churches tend to share fundamental architectural features.

Such diversity attests to that period's cultural growth and exploration, typical of provincial cities yet to have developed local institutions able to determine the direction of art and industry. For example, in European cities with longer histories, such institutions had long included professional communities from which a legacy of knowledge and practice could have been drawn. Not surprisingly, the Poppleton map also testifies to the difficulties of recognition that trained architects, lacking both institutional support and popular understanding, might have faced.

Attribution

The listing of architects' names alongside the map's images is certainly significant. The profession of architecture, as such, was new at that time in the United States, and practitioners such as Latrobe who brought English professional values to cities such as Baltimore and Philadelphia, and his student Mills bemoaned constantly the poor status of their own position.[19] At the very least, these architects sought credit for the conceptual and intellectual content of their work, distinguished from the technical and even manual aspects of construction. The fact that Poppleton prominently used the term "architect," and not "builder," "surveyor," or "constructor," reflects a measure of the progress towards the goals of these new professionals. These new values conflated, nevertheless, with older and more common ideas about producing buildings.

Most of the "architects" listed on the Poppleton map were those who worked as carpenters and masons and who may have been primarily responsible for the material construction of the building. Nevertheless, the title even then denoted (and connoted) responsibility for the plans, spaces, and ornament of buildings, whether or not that responsibility also included supervision of construction.[20] What is

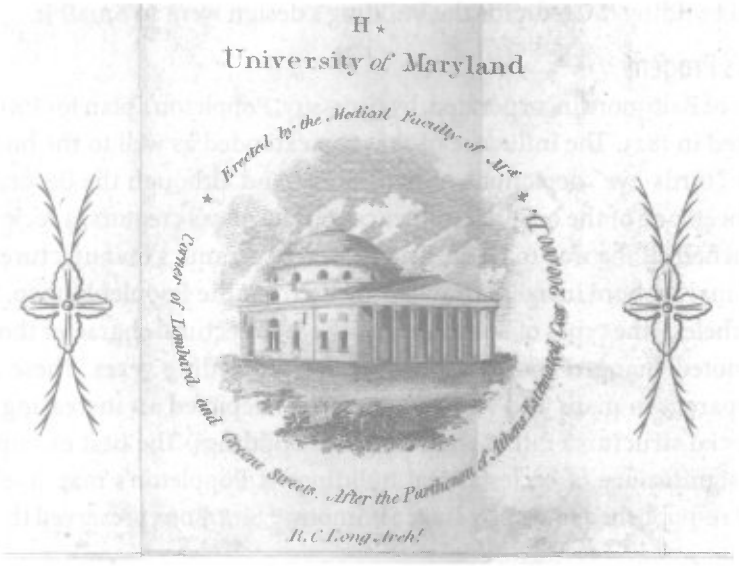
Robert Cary Long Sr. (1770–1833) received full credit from the map's publishers for the designs of several of Baltimore's most important buildings. (Maryland Historical Society.)

Robert Cary Long Jr. (1810–1849) completed the tower on St. Mary's Chapel, visible in the 1852 revised edition of Poppleton's map. (Maryland Historical Society.)

especially interesting is the intersection of these technical matters with wider responsibilities derived from financial and political activity. In a sense, attribution as "architect" implied social promotion, with the promise of future commissions, political involvement, and financial gain. Buildings attributed solely to Robert Cary Long Sr., for example, may have generated controversy.

Poppleton credited "R.C. Long Archt." with eight of the thirty-five illustrated buildings, almost a quarter of Baltimore's most significant pre-1823 structures—the Museum, Assembly Rooms, Union Bank, University of Maryland, Alms House, Theatre, St. Paul's, and the jail. Long's participation in the construction of these buildings has not been contested, but the extent to which he conceived the design of those building attributed to him is unclear. Whose role was excluded may be equally of note. For example, Scharf, in his Chronicles of Baltimore, wrote that Long and others built the Assembly Rooms at Nicholas Rogers's direction. Griffith, in his earlier Ann*als of Baltimore*, does the same.[21] As indicated above, Long's relationship to Rogers extended to their work on the jail, yet the credit on Poppleton's Map for both structures is to Long alone.

The list of buildings to which Long contributed both as builder and designer is perhaps the longest of any of his contemporaries. His important role among Baltimore's rising "business class" after 1800 included participation upon committees whose charge often included awarding building commissions. Yet city directories listed his professional title as that of a "carpenter" up to 1823. In her chapter on Long's work as one of Baltimore's early architects, Claire Eckles notes that only



"(a)fter 1824 he was called an architect or 'architectist,' and in 1831 and 1833 engineer was added to his listing."[22]

Long's independence as a designer, rather than as a builder, was established first with his Union Bank, built circa 1807. (Atypically, no date is given on Poppleton's map.) Called by one writer "a peerless masterpiece of restrained Federal styling," Long's work on this bank and the contemporary accolades mark the moment when Baltimoreans sought to elevate their commercial buildings to the same plane as churches and government structures.[23] Of the other buildings shown on the map, Peale's Museum, the Holliday Street Theater, and St. Paul's Church all remain credited solely to Long. Yet his attribution as the designer of "University of Maryland," known today as Davidge Hall, has been contested based on existing letters from Latrobe to Godefroy. The structure listed as the "centre building" of the Alms House, originally known as Calverton Mansion and credited to Long on Poppleton's map, has since been attributed to French architect Joseph Jacques Ramée.[24] The authors of the map apparently placed less importance on architectural contribution to design than on Long's work on construction.

Other building projects are also incorrectly or incompletely attributed. The story of Maximilian Godefroy's involvement with the Custom House, Exchange, &c., attributed solely to Latrobe on the Poppleton map, has been well documented.[25] The map's publishers also omitted Godefroy's contribution to the Masonic Hall for which J. (Jacob) Small, Jr., is listed as the architect. The Masons originally awarded the commission to Godefroy whose father-in-law, Dr. John Crawford, had served as the Catholic architect's liaison to the anti-papist Masons. After the elder gentleman's death and a lengthy interruption due to the War of 1812, Small Jr. gained control of the project. Although this second designer reconceived the facade to include the additional story visible in the illustration, Godefroy's original plan remained intact in the final building.[26] Credit for the building's design went to Small Jr.

Poppleton's Progeny

Later maps of Baltimore incorporated, by necessity, Poppleton's plan for future roads as illustrated in 1823. The influence of the map extended as well to the burgeoning market for "birds-eye" depictions of Baltimore. And although the decorative arts may have been one of the original influences on the map's creators, a reciprocal influence reached all the way to Great Britain, where ceramics manufactured for the American market bore imagery drawn directly from the Poppleton map.[27]

Nevertheless, the types of buildings and the architectural character those structures promoted changed considerably over the succeeding years. These changes, already apparent in maps and views of the 1840s, depicted an increasing number of commercial structures rather than religious buildings. The best example of the declining significance of ecclesiastical buildings is Poppleton's map itself, re-designed and re-published in 1852 by Isaac Simmons.[28] Simmons preserved the graphic

character of the first edition. The vignettes, even those revised to show changes or corrections, remained line etchings set within rosettes of text, already a kind of nostalgic conceit in the new era of photography and photolithography. To illustrate the Baltimore of 1852, however, Simmons removed eight buildings from the map's perimeter and added six new ones. Those omitted included the Assembly Rooms, Centre and Northern Fountains, Godefroy's Commercial and Farmers Bank, and four churches, Second Presbyterian, St. Patrick's, Christ Church, and the Eutaw Meeting House. Revisions to those images retained from the 1823 edition included redrawing the Cathedral to show the towers, redrawing St. Johns church, changing the Museum's designation to reflect its role as Baltimore's City Hall, and changing the attribution for Godefroy's St. Mary's Chapel to none other than Robert Cary Long.[29] Of the six buildings added to the 1852 edition, not one was a religious building. The new buildings included the Athenaeum, Aged Women's Home, House of Refuge, High School, Mercantile Institute, and Sun Iron Building. The inclusion of Bogardus's Sun Iron Building, a new type of industrial building fabricated by a new kind of construction technique, reflected the encroachment of speculative commerce upon the high-mindedness of Baltimore's famous institutions.

By 1852, at the time Simmons reissued Poppleton's map, printed views of cities had become extraordinarily popular throughout the United States. Most of these depicted "birds-eye" scenes, as though the view had been drawn from a perspective elevated high above ground level. What is striking is that so many of these publications also included miniature vignettes of city buildings, either drawn or, already by the 1850s, derived from photographs. Baltimore-based printers such as E. Sachse and Co. did so even when depicting cities elsewhere in the United States. Echoing changes already seen in Baltimore, the buildings they included rarely expressed any public-oriented ethos. Rather, publishers often sold vignette space as advertising for commercial interests.[30]

The city that had adopted Poppleton's plan grew geographically. Railroads enhanced Baltimore's commercial opportunities and other technologies such as the introduction of omnibus service had allowed new urban neighborhoods to grow well beyond the boundaries defined in 1816. The city once again positioned itself for another expansion into the adjacent county. Baltimore's architecture, too, included both new types of buildings and new scales of buildings, exemplified by the mills and factories clamoring for the public's attention. Yet even as late as 1872, new maps of Baltimore continued to honor, if only implicitly, the memory of Poppleton's presentation.

F. Klemm's 1872 map *Baltimore and the Proposed Extensions of the City Limits*, based on Simon Martenet's survey proposed a different plan for the city's future. Klemm's work showed the 1817 municipal boundaries, but added considerable area to illustrate the scope of those proposed extensions. Large public parks also appeared on Klemm's map, reflecting the city government's increased commitment

to recreation and public welfare. But just as in Poppleton's day, a constellation of vignettes surrounded the map.

What, according to Klemm and his collaborators, were Baltimore's prominent buildings in 1872? The Battle Monument remained, along with Washington's, lost relics of the early republic among a miscellaneous host of Victorian-era buildings. Klemm placed the Battle Monument between the Maryland Institute and Joshua Horner's Chemical supply depot and the Washington Monument next to an oyster packing facility. The two memorials and the subjects of their commemoration appear to have been overwhelmed by the vitality of Baltimore's commercial culture.

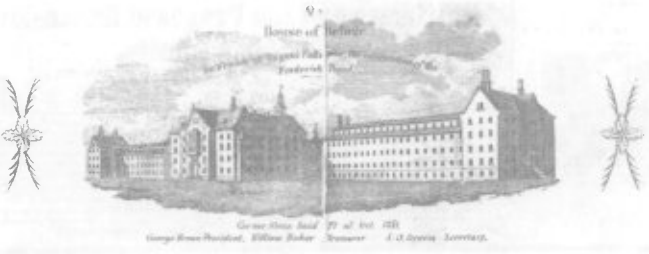
Fifty years later, and more than a century after the original publication of Poppleton's map, both nostalgia and bathos came together again in Letitia Stockett's affectionate, yet satiric, essay about Baltimore's history:

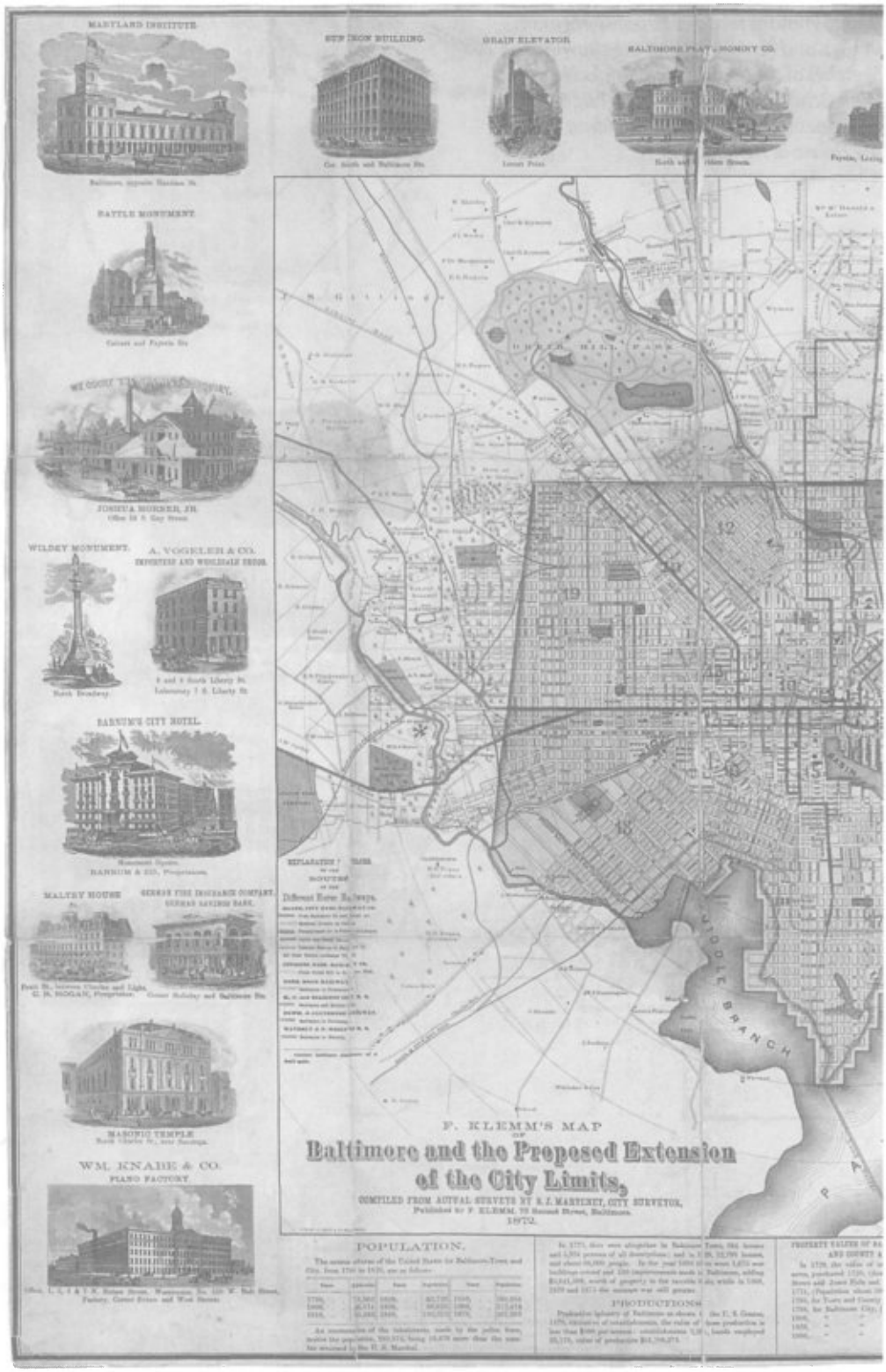
> Would you know about Baltimore? Then put deliberately out of your mind the fact that the town makes more straw hats than any other city in the world. Aesthetically speaking, that is a fearsome thought. Forget, too, that Baltimore is the centre of the oyster packing industry. Worse, far worse than a straw hat is a packed oyster; Baltimoreans ought to know better. In truth they do . . . [31]

Or perhaps, at the time Stockett wrote, they actually didn't.

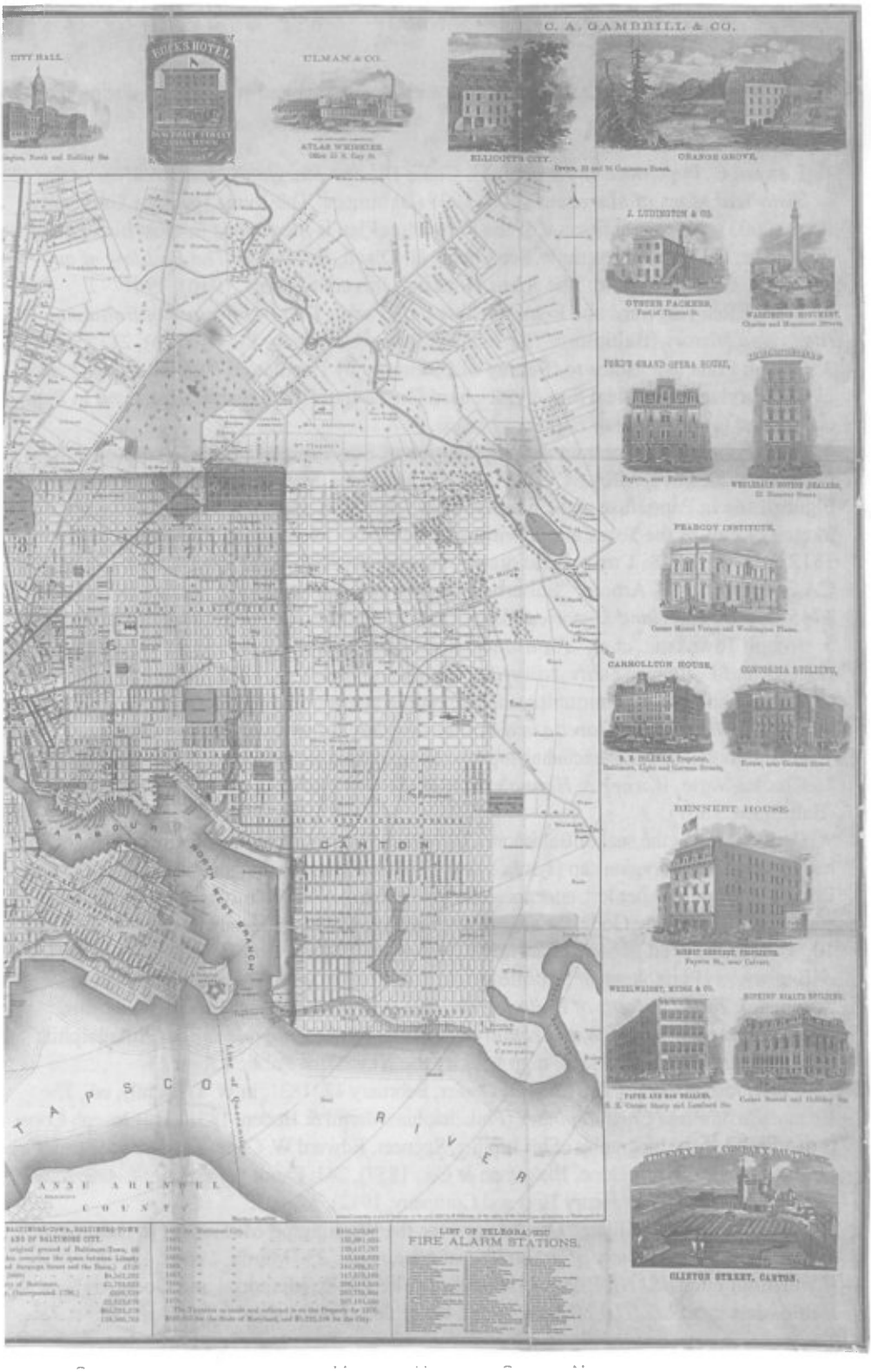
Looking closely at Poppleton's work suggests that the men who commissioned Washington's monument employed a unique and determinative corporate act of memory embodied in both the physical monument and its representation. Representation, however, does not ensure preservation, whether among actual stones or their perceived meanings. Artifacts such as this map, however, over a span of almost two centuries, continue to attest to those meanings.

Isaac Simmons reissued Poppleton's map in 1852 and replaced six of the drawings. Sketches of the new buildings included the High School, Aged Women's Home, the Athenaeum, The Sun Iron Building, and the House of Refuge.





F. Klemm, Baltimore and the Proposed Extension of the City Limits from S.J. Martenet's surveys, 1872.


C. A. GAMBRILL & CO.
CITY HALL.
ULMAN & CO.
ELLICOTT'S CITY.
ORANGE GROVE.
J. LUDINGTON & CO.
GYMER PACKERS.
WASHINGTON MONUMENT.
FORD'S GRAND OPERA HOUSE.
PEABODY INSTITUTE.
CARROLLTON HOUSE.
GEORGIA BUILDING.
HENSHEY HOUSE.
CANTON
HARBOUR
NORTH WEST BRANCH
PATAPSCO
RIVER
ANNE ARUNDEL
COUNTY
LIST OF TELEGRAPHIC
FIRE ALARM STATIONS.
CLINTON STREET, CANTON.

Notes

The author would like to thank Ed Love for his comments and suggestions during the writing of this essay.

1. Edward C. Papenfuse and Joseph M. Coale III, *The Maryland State Archives: Atlas of Historical Maps of Maryland 1608–1908* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 167; the influence of the Poppleton Plan is mentioned in most histories of Baltimore; for a recent example, see Sherry H. Olson, *Baltimore: The Building of an American City* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), 79 ff.
2. Mary Ellen Hayward and Frank R. Shivers Jr., eds., *The Architecture of Baltimore: An Illustrated History* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 21, 75, 78.
3. Joseph Francus, "Notes to 'Survey of Baltimore by Poppleton,'" no date, Box 1, MS 2977, Maryland Historical Society; Richard Cox, unpublished manuscript, cited in Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps*, 167.
4. T. H. Poppleton, "Contract and explanation of Surveying Methods to be used . . .," dated May 20, 1811, MSA SC 5087-1-1-1/7, Maryland State Archives (Illustrated as Figure 146e in Papenfuse and Coale, *Atlas of Historical Maps*); T. H. Poppleton, "An Eye Sketch of Part of the Town and Environs of Baltimore taken without regard to accuracy," 1812, 171/4x 11 5/8: 1 map, hand drawn on paper, matted, WOP 20x24, Box 22, BCLM CA 2417; Joseph L. Arnold, "Suburban Growth and Municipal Annexation in Baltimore, 1745–1918," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 73 (1978): 111 [hereinafter cited *MdHM*].
5. Joseph Townsend, et al, "A misunderstanding to an unpleasant extent" *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, Thursday March 28, 1822.
6. T. H. Poppleton, "Communicated: The public attention having been lately attracted to the Plats," *The Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, April 6, 1822.
7. For the consequences of excluding topography from the plan, see Olson, *Baltimore*, 58.
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A Selected List

Anne S. K. Turkos and Jeff Korman Compilers

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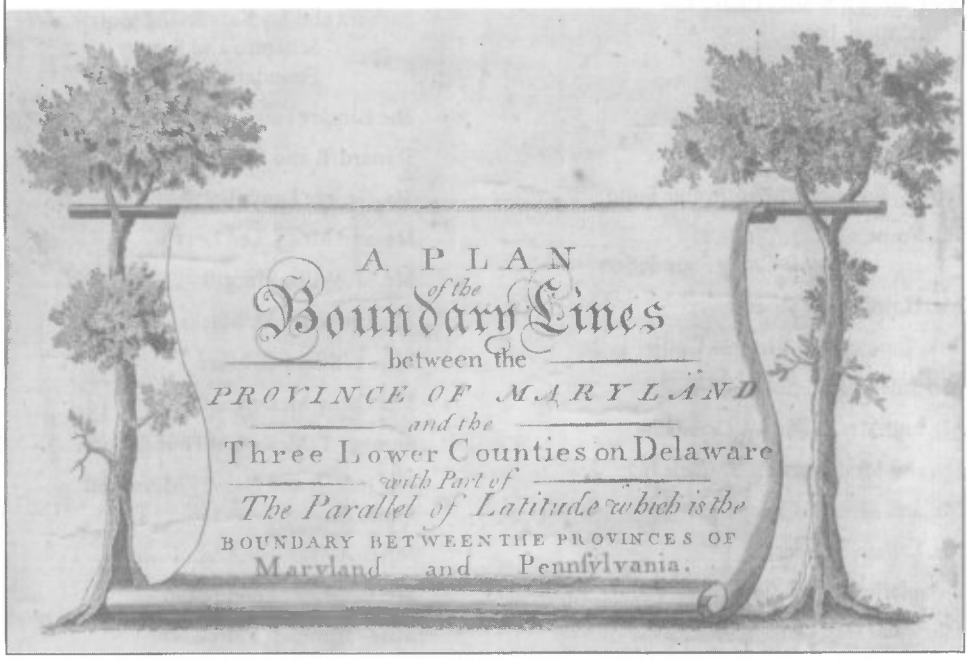

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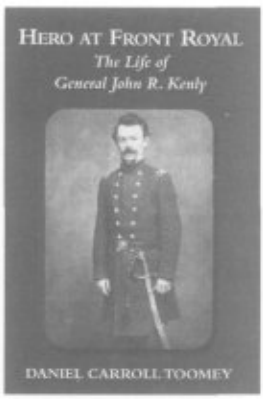

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